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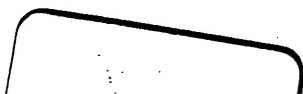
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ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ



ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

PLUTARCH'S

*LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES*

WITH INTRODUCTION EXPLANATORY NOTES  
AND CRITICAL APPENDIX

BY

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## PREFACE

‘THERE are three points to be considered’ says Wyttenbach ‘by the Editor of an ancient author : the first is whether the author be worth editing ; the second whether an edition, worthy of the author, is already in existence or required ; the third whether he is himself competent for the task.’ In regard to Plutarch’s Lives the first of these points may be taken for granted as incontrovertible ; the second also admits of no doubt, because no edition of the Greek text of any of the Parallel Lives has ever been published with English notes, although there is a great demand of some book to rank with, if not to supersede, Xenophon as a text-book in Schools and Colleges. Of the third requisite I must leave my readers to judge. Whatever may be their judgment, few, I think, will have cause to complain that I have given too little help in my commentary to young students. If only

they will make proper use of Professor Goodwin's excellent *Greek Grammar* (Macmillan, 1879), to which constant references are given on all points of syntax, they ought not to find any difficulty in mastering the text with the assistance I have provided for them. In preparing the notes I have consulted all previously written commentaries. The editions which I have found of most service are those of C. Sintenis with German notes (Leipzig, 1851), and of F. Blass (Leipzig, 1872) also with German notes. To the latter I am especially indebted, as supplying the substance of pp. xxxix—li of my Introduction.

SCHOOL HOUSE, IPSWICH,

Dec. 2, 1881

In the Notes the numbers in the Margin indicate the Pages of the text. The number prefixed to each note refers to the line on the page of the text. Where a reference is given, in the body of a note, to the text, the first number refers to the Chapter, the second to the Section of that chapter.

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## ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ

εἰς εἰκόνα Πλουτάρχου

Σεῖο πολυκλήντα τύπον στήσαν, Χαιρωνεῦ

Πλούταρχε, κρατερῶν γιέες Αἰσονίων,

ὅττι παραλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλήνας ἀρίστοις

Ῥώμης εὐπολέμοις ἤρμοςας ἐνναέταις.

ἀλλὰ τεοῦ βιότοιο παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον

οὐδέ σὶ γ' ἂν γράψαις· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοῖον ἔχεις.

## INTRODUCTION

### *Life of Plutarch*

1. It is strange that so little is known of the personal history of Plutarch; that he who wrote the lives of so many others should have found no writer, Greek or Latin, to do the same for himself<sup>1</sup>: and that not even the dates of his birth and death should have come down to us. Nothing in fact is known about him but what may be gathered from various notices scattered through his own writings. The plain facts of his life, as ascertained from these, may be told very shortly. He was born not later than A.D. 50 at Chaeroneia in the north-west of Boeotia, a town which, although small and insignificant, was nevertheless rich in historical memories. It commanded the entrance to the famous plain, called by his favourite hero Epameinondas 'the dancing-plot of Ares'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Octave Gréard *de la morale de Plutarque* ed. 3 Paris 1880: 'nul écrivain, grec ou latin, n'a fait pour lui ce qu'il avait fait pour tant d'autres; le biographe de l'antiquité n'a pas de biographie.'

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρεως ὀρχήστρα Plut. vit. Marcell. c. 21, πολέμου ὀρχήστρα apophthegm. regg. et imperatt. § 18. R. Volkmann *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* Berlin 1873 p. 16.

at the time when two of the three great battles<sup>3</sup> named after it were as yet unfought. Here his family had been settled for many years, and was of good standing and local repute. He speaks incidentally of his great grandfather Nikarchus, who was at his native place at the time of the struggle between Antony and Octavius<sup>4</sup>, and makes constant mention of Lamprias, his grandfather, as taking part in the *συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα* or 'Table talk,' which occupy a considerable portion of his miscellaneous writings<sup>5</sup>; a lively, amiable and genial old gentleman, fond of good cheer and good stories and with a fund of curious anecdote<sup>6</sup>. Plutarch's father also was a man of cultivation, who could occasionally take part in the discourses on various topics recorded by his son, but although a shrewd and sensible man, he does not seem to have been such an adept in the art of conversation or so brilliant and fluent a speaker as the grandfather<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> That in B.C. 447 when the Athenians were defeated by the Boeotians (Thuc. i 118); that in B.C. 338 when Philip of Macedon defeated the united forces of the Athenians and Boeotians, a day fatal to the liberties of Greece (Strabo x 2, 37); and the third in B.C. 86 when Sulla defeated the army of Mithridates (Plutarch vit. Sull. c. 19).

<sup>4</sup> vit. Anton. c. 68.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. i 5, 5 ἦν δὲ Λαμπρίας, ὁ ἡμέτερος πάππος, ἐν τῷ πίνειν εὐπετικώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λογιώτατος. Comp. iv 5 where he takes part in a discourse on the reasons why the Jews abstain from pork; also i 2, 2, v 2, 6.

<sup>6</sup> vit. Ant. c. 28, where Lamprias repeats a story told him by the physician Philotas, illustrating the luxuriousness of Antony's life in Egypt.

<sup>7</sup> symp. ii 8, 1 ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἥκιστα περὶ τὰς λογιόχας αὐτοσχέδιος ὤν, where the table talk becomes stable talk and he

He was fond of exciting the curiosity of the young, whom he liked to gather around him<sup>8</sup>. When he was more than seventy years old, Plutarch remembered the lessons he received from him on his entrance into life. "I remember" he says "when I myself was still a young man, I was sent in company with another on a deputation to the pro-consul; my colleague, it so happened, was unable to proceed, and I saw the pro-consul and performed the commission alone. Upon my return, when I was about to lay down my office and to give an account of its discharge, my father got up in the assembly and bade me privately to take care not to say 'I went,' but 'we went,' nor 'I said,' but 'we said,' and in the whole narration to give my companion his share<sup>9</sup>."

There are other members also of the family mentioned by him, his father-in-law Alexion<sup>10</sup>, his brother Lamprias, who was a sprightly and 'enjoué'<sup>11</sup> character, a good trencherman, as became a Boeotian<sup>12</sup>, who loved well a scoff and a jest<sup>13</sup>, and was ever ready to join in all sorts of games and amusements. His second brother, Timon, appears only twice<sup>14</sup> in the *Symposiaca*, which is surprising, considering how often

is incidentally mentioned as *κεχωρημένος ἀπὸ κρατιστεύουσιν ἱπποῖς*.

<sup>8</sup> *sympos.* III 7, 1; I 2, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *praec. ger. reip.* 20, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *sympos.* VII 3.

<sup>11</sup> Gréard *l. c.* p. 26, cf. Archbp Trench *Five Lectures on Plutarch* p. 21, Volkmann *l. c.* p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> *sympos.* II 2, 1, *de esu carn.* I § 6.

<sup>13</sup> *ib.* VIII 6, 5 *ὕβριστὴς καὶ φιλογέλιος φύσει*, cf. I 2, 5; IX 5, 1.

<sup>14</sup> I 2; II 5.

other names recur. He seems to have been, unlike Lamprias, of a reserved and thoughtful disposition. In his treatise *περὶ φιλαδελφίας* 'on brotherly love,' dedicated to the brothers Nigrinus and Quintus, Plutarch bears a touching record to his affection for himself<sup>15</sup>. With these brothers Plutarch lived on the most affectionate terms both in the lifetime of their father and after his death. He was treated by them with great respect as 'the philosopher of the family,' and at the household table the solution of questions on which the father hesitated to pronounce an opinion was generally referred to him.

2. Plutarch commenced his philosophical studies at Athens, under the direction of Ammonius, with a fellow-pupil named Themistokles, a descendant of the hero of Salamis<sup>16</sup>, in the year A.D. 66 when Nero was travelling in Greece<sup>17</sup>. This Ammonius, according to Eunapius (*vit. sophist.* praef. p. 11), was a Peripatetic philosopher of Egyptian origin but resident at Athens, where he was chief magistrate (*στρατηγός*) of the city: but by others<sup>18</sup> he is identified with the celebrated

<sup>15</sup> II p. 487 π ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι πολλῶν ἀξίων χάριτος παρὰ τῆς τύχης γεγονότων ἡ Τίμωνος εὐνοία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰλλα καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐντετυχηκότων ἡμῖν, ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συνήθεις ὑμεῖς. Volkmann l. c. seeks to identify him with the Timon mentioned in a letter of Pliny the younger (ep. i 5, 5) as the husband of Arrionilla.

<sup>16</sup> *vit. Them.* c. 32, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *περὶ τοῦ Εἰ ἐν Δελφοῖς* c. 1: ἀ πάλαι ποτε, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπεδήμει Νέρων, ἠκούσαμεν Ἀμμωνίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διξιόντων.

<sup>18</sup> e.g. Corsini *proleg. ad libr. de plac. phil.* p. vi, who finds

Athenian philosopher known as ὁ Λαμπρεὺς or Λαμπρεύς. His name occurs repeatedly in the minor works, and is specially mentioned in the *Life of Themistokles*<sup>18</sup>. Plutarch married, we don't know at what period of his life, Timoxena, daughter of Alexion, by whom he had four sons and one daughter, born, it would appear, long after her brothers. Their eldest son, Soklarus, died before attaining his fifteenth year. Two other sons were named respectively Autobulus and Plutarchus: to them their father dedicated his treatise *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας* 'concerning the procreation of the soul as discoursed in the *Timaeus* of Plato.' The fourth son, named Chaeron after the founder of his native town, died probably at an early age<sup>19</sup>. Their only daughter, named Timoxena after her mother, died when she was but two years old, during her father's temporary absence. It was on occasion of her death that the affectionate and sensible letter of consolation (*παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα*) was addressed by Plutarch to his wife, 'showing him' as has been said 'in a very tender and attractive light as a husband and father, and affording us glimpses of a family life, the existence of which we are too apt to

a supporter in Westermann (Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* 2. A. I, I. p. 863).

<sup>19</sup> de consol. ad uxorem c. 5: ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ ταῦτα πολλὰν εὐστάθειαν ἐπεδείξω, τὸ πρεσβύτερον τῶν τέκνων ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ Χαίρωντος ἡμᾶς προλιπόντος. The Autobulus and Soklarus who appear as interlocutors in the treatise *de solertia animalium* are not Plutarch's sons, as is seen from c. 7, 3, nor again the Autobulus, who appears in the *Eroticus*.

forget when taking account of the moral condition of the ancient heathen world<sup>20</sup>. On the completion of his studies under Ammonius, Plutarch returned from Athens to his home at Chaeronea, where he continued his literary pursuits. It must have been not long after this that he went on a voyage to Alexandria<sup>21</sup>, on his return from which he was fêted by his friends. He does not appear to have extended his travels further inland or to have taken the trouble to acquire information about Egypt and its natural curiosities.

3. In later years, in the maturity of his manhood, at any rate some time before A. D. 90, he paid a visit to Italy and Rome, which exercised considerable influence on his after life. He makes a general reference to this visit in his *Life of Demosthenes*<sup>22</sup>, where he says of himself ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν καί, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται, φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων, ὅψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἡρξάμεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν. He then goes on to explain that it was not so much from the language that he came to understand the facts, as by his acquaintance with the facts he was enabled to follow the meaning of words. The beauty and rapid flow of the Roman style, its figures and its

<sup>20</sup> Archbp Trench l. c. p. 32, who compares two striking passages, amator. c. 24 and praec. coniug. c. 34. Cf. Volkmann l. c. p. 29.

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<sup>22</sup> c. 2.

exquisite harmony, and such other ornaments of language he professes himself unable to appreciate, because to do so would require a degree of practice and study, for which he had not sufficient leisure<sup>22</sup>.

(This passage is for Plutarch's life, in more than one respect, instructive. In the first place we have his own confession that he was but an indifferent Latin scholar, a fact which, to say nothing of his defective method of employing his Roman authorities, is proved by the errors into which he falls, as often as he has occasion to explain Latin words and phrases<sup>23</sup>. Secondly, we learn from this passage, that Plutarch was engaged in some public business at Rome, probably as representing his native town<sup>24</sup>, that he

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<sup>23</sup> Thus he speaks of *πάτρωνας* for *πατρώνους*=*patronos* Rom. c. 20 p. 25 A; he uses a false construction with *sine*, *σινε* *πάτρης* (= *patris*), *ὡς* *ἄνευ* *πατρός*, quaest. Rom. 103. His remark that the Latin language, which had become almost the universal language, had taken away nearly all prepositions (*ὁ Ῥωμαίων λόγος, ᾧ νῦν ὁμοῦ τι πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται... προθέσεις ἀφῆρκε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπάσας*) is very suspicious. He betrays his imperfect acquaintance with Latin also by his curious derivation of the word *fetialis* (Num. c. 12), and his confusion of the meaning of *vicus* in his life of Lucullus c. 37, where he gives it the meaning of 'village' instead of 'street' (*τὰς περιουκίδας κώμας, ἀς οὐτικούς καλοῦσιν, εἰστίασε*).

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gave lectures or held conversaciones in philosophy, and that he availed himself of the opportunity his residence in the Capitol gave him to make excursions in Italy, and that he must have stayed there some length of time.)

4. We have one limit for the date of his visit in the treatise 'on the skill of animals'<sup>26</sup>, where Plutarch in recording an instance of wonderful sagacity in a dog, which he had himself witnessed in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome, expressly mentions the presence of the old Emperor Vespasian on the occasion — *παρῆν γὰρ ὁ γέρον Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν τῷ Μαρκελλοῦ θεατρῷ*. This must have been before the year A.D. 79, in which Vespasian died. Again it appears that Plutarch was at Rome, some time before the year A.D. 94. For he relates casually in his *de curiositate*<sup>27</sup>, how on one occasion, when he was lecturing, Arulenus Rusticus, who was put to death A.D. 94 by the Emperor Domitian, was amongst his audience. In the midst of his lecture a soldier entered and handed to him a missive from the Emperor. There was deep silence and the lecturer paused to give Arulenus time to read the letter, but he declined to open it, until the lecture was finished and the audience dismissed. For the rest, it follows from a passage in the *Symposiaca*<sup>28</sup> that Plutarch paid at least two visits to Rome, Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόσιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένην μοι διὰ χρόνου τὸ ὑποδεκτικόν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς κ.τ.λ. At that time he was accompanied by his compatriot Philinus. Now

<sup>26</sup> c. 19.<sup>27</sup> c. 15.<sup>28</sup> viii 7, 1.

we know from the life of Publicola<sup>29</sup>, that Plutarch was again in Greece and at Athens before A.D. 82, the year when the Capitol was restored by Domitian, for he saw there the columns of Pentelican marble destined for that building. He goes on to state that at Rome they were again cut and polished, and had lost thereby some of their original symmetry, being too slender, and ends with a description of the imperial palace; from which it follows that Plutarch must have been at Rome after A.D. 82. We find also many other notices of his presence at Rome scattered throughout his writings, as when he refers to various bad customs existing in his time<sup>30</sup>, or speaks of buildings and localities, which he has seen, such as the sacred island of the Tiber<sup>31</sup>, the temple of Vica Pota<sup>32</sup>, the bronze statue of Titus Quintus Flamininus, opposite the Circus, with the Greek inscription on it<sup>33</sup>, or the *τεράτων ἀγορά* 'monster-market'<sup>34</sup>. In the Life of *Numa* he states that he had himself heard many Romans narrate how in obedience to an oracle bidding the Romans set up a statue of the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks in their own city, they had erected in the forum two bronze statues, one of Alkibiades, the other of Pythagoras<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> c. 15 οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντέλῃσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μήκος ἔχοντες· εἰδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθῆνῃσιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αἰθοῖς καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσούτων ἔργον γλαφυρίας, ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας τοῦ καλοῦ διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.

<sup>30</sup> v. Marc. c. 8 extr.

<sup>31</sup> v. Public. c. 8.

<sup>32</sup> ib. c. 10.

<sup>33</sup> vit. Flam. c. 1.

<sup>34</sup> de curios. c. 10.

<sup>35</sup> c. 8 αὐτοὶ ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων, ὅτι χρησμοῦ

5. At Rome Plutarch made the acquaintance of many eminent men, and also renewed his acquaintance with several whom he had known before in Greece, as with Sextius Sulla of Carthage, οὗτε Μουσῶν οὗτε Χαρίτων ἐπιδέης ἀνὴρ<sup>36</sup>. Thus he was on terms of intimacy with Favorinus, the renowned rhetorician and philosopher, to whom he dedicated his extant treatise 'on the principle of cold' (περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ) and a lost tract 'on friendship,' and with Gaius Sosius Senecio, one of Pliny's correspondents<sup>37</sup>, to whom Plutarch dedicates several of his *Parallel Lives*<sup>38</sup>, and at whose suggestion he compiled his *Symposiaca* or 'records of Table-talk,' held at entertainments in which he played the part of host or guest to a circle of scholars or gentlemen devoted to literature and philosophy at Rome and elsewhere<sup>39</sup>. Now we know from the *Fasti* that Sosius was four times consul under Trajan, viz., consul *suffectus* in A.D. 98 and consul *ordinarius* in A.D. 99, 102, 107. We do not, however, know whether Plu-

ποτε Ῥωμαίοις γενομένοι τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Ἑλλήνων ἰδρύσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου.

<sup>36</sup> v. Rom. c. 15.

<sup>37</sup> Plin. ep. i 13.

<sup>38</sup> Those of *Theseus* and *Romulus*, of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, of *Dio* and *Brutus*, probably also those of *Agis* and *Kleomenes*, and the two *Gracchi*, as well as the treatise *de profectibus in virtute* πῶς ἂν τις ἀσθοίτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ.

<sup>39</sup> ψήθης τε δεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν σποράδην πολλάκις ἐν τε Ῥώμῃ μεθ' ὁμῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρούσης ἅμα τραπέζης καὶ κύβητος φιλολογηθέντων συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, Prooem. 4.

tarch made his acquaintance first at Rome or in Greece, where it is certain from references in the *Symposiaca* that he stayed some considerable time<sup>40</sup>. We learn from the same source that this distinguished Roman extended his friendship with the father to the sons<sup>41</sup>.

Another friend of Plutarch's, also a man of consular rank, a scholar and archaeologist<sup>42</sup>, was Mestrius Florus. It was at his house that the discussion took place about 'the evil eye,' in which Plutarch took part with his kinsman Patrokleus and his friend Soklarus<sup>43</sup>. In his company he travelled through Gallia Cisalpina, where Mestrius' family was well known; and visited the battle-field of Bedriacum<sup>44</sup>, Brixellum<sup>45</sup>, Ravenna, where he saw the marble statue

<sup>40</sup> From II 1, 1 it is plain that Plutarch was once at Patrae with him; and in V 1, 1 Plutarch speaks of their being in each other's company at Athens. Again in IV 8, 1 he tells us that Sosius was present at the marriage-feast of his son Autobulus (*ἐν τοῖς Αὐτοβούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ γάμοις συνεώρταξεν ἡμῶν παρῶν ἐκ Χαιρωνείας (ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Volkmann) ὁ Σόσσιος Σερεκιῶν*).

<sup>41</sup> *symp.* VIII 10, 1 *τοῖς μὲν οὖν σοῖς ἐταίροις ἐμοῖς δὲ υἱοῖς ἐδόκει*.

<sup>42</sup> *φιλαρχαῖος symp.* VII 4: cf. *ib.* VIII 2, 2, Sucton. *Vespas.* c. 22.

<sup>43</sup> *symp.* V. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *V. Oth.* c. 14: *ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὀδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέλστριος Φλώρος, ἄνθρωπος ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθωνος γενομένων, νεῶν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγείτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σώρων τηλικούτων ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιπολῆς ἀπτεσθαι τῶν αἰτῶν*.

<sup>45</sup> *ib.* c. 18: *εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μνημα μέτριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσάν, εἰ μεταφρασθεῖη, 'Δηλώσει Μάρκου Ὀθωνος.'*

of Gaius Marius<sup>46</sup>. Amongst his other friends we may mention in particular Fundanus, who is the principal interlocutor in the dialogue about *ἀοργησία*, 'the cure of anger,' a very noble and humane character, and the counterpart of Plutarch himself in his domestic life<sup>47</sup>. He is probably to be identified with Minucius Fundanus, a distinguished friend of Pliny the younger<sup>48</sup>. A common friend of Sulla, Fundanus and Plutarch was Paccius, to whom the treatise *περὶ εὐθυμίας* 'of tranquillity of mind' is dedicated, a distinguished forensic speaker and a friend of the emperor<sup>49</sup>.

6. Plutarch's occupation during his residence at Rome was akin to that of one whom the ancients termed *grammaticus*, but whom we should describe as lecturer or private tutor<sup>50</sup>, ready to give advice to any one consulting him on questions of practical morality, as a sort of physioian of the soul, able to make a diagnosis of a diseased moral condition, one of 'the domestic chaplains of heathendom,' as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, ready to help all who sought his assistance

<sup>46</sup> Mar. c. 2: τῆς δὲ ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα πάνυ τῇ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρουφνότητι καὶ πικρὰ πρέπουσαν.

<sup>47</sup> Volkmann l. c. p. 41.

<sup>48</sup> See his three Epistles i 9, iv 15, vi 6. There is also a fourth letter (v 6) concerning the death of his young daughter in which Pliny speaks of his being *eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit*.

<sup>49</sup> de tranquill. animi c. 1.

<sup>50</sup> v. Dem. c. 2, already quoted § 3, where he speaks of his being prevented from learning much of the Latin language ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πηλυσιαζόντων.

as their moral director and adviser. He had cultivated, in a greater or less degree, the three branches of study recognized by the ancients, viz. mathematics, rhetoric and philosophy<sup>51</sup>. But his attention was mainly given to moral and religious speculations, in all of which he took the most profound interest; the one end and aim of his life and writings being the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals.

Thus Poetry, in his judgment, was mischievous, if it had not a direct moral tendency; his rhetorical precepts and his rules of historical criticism are alike based upon morals; does he find himself in presence of some physical phenomenon<sup>52</sup>, or confronted by a question of erudition, the solution is to be found only by recurring to moral principles. Even his rules for the preservation of health are for the most part observations of moral hygiene. If he attacks the Stoics and Epicureans, it is to vindicate Providence and the moral government of the world against their tenets. Politics, moreover, are in his view nothing but the most perfect exercise of moral philosophy applied to the amelioration of society<sup>53</sup>.

We see then why, from the first, his miscellaneous essays on all sorts of topics were comprised under the common title of 'Moral Works.' His *Parallel Lives* are but the complement of his moral essays; his

<sup>51</sup> sympos. ix 14 § 3 ἀπάσας τὰς διὰ λόγου περαινομένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οἷσας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ ῥητορικῷ καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>52</sup> v. Nic. c. 28.

<sup>53</sup> περὶ τοῦ δι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι c. 1; πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαιδεύτον c. 8.



leading purpose in writing them was not, as will be seen hereafter, historical but ethical: history is only a school of manners for him; what he looks for in the example of great men is some lesson or other<sup>54</sup>. 'Vivid moral portraiture,' says Archbishop Trench, 'is what he aimed at, and this is what he achieved'<sup>55</sup>.

7. And this is the secret of his vast popularity, which has stood the test of so many ages from the fourth century, when he could be spoken of as *ὁ θεώτατος, ὁ θεοπένσιος, ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα*<sup>56</sup>, or as *ὁ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πλοῦτος*<sup>57</sup> until the period of the renaissance. Since the revival of classical literature his admirers have been very numerous. Rabelais, Montaigne<sup>57b</sup> who was a great imitator of Plutarch and confesses that he can hardly do without him, Shakespeare, Scaliger<sup>58</sup>, in the sixteenth century pay him

<sup>54</sup> *Heeren de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi Commentatio prima*, prooem. p. 5 etc., Trench l. c. p. 90.

<sup>55</sup> l. c. p. 43.

<sup>56</sup> *Eunapius de vitis sophistarum*, prooem. p. 3 ed. Boissonade.

<sup>57</sup> Theophylact Sim. Q. P. p. 22.

<sup>57b</sup> *Essais* II c. 4, quoted by Koraës præfat. Plutarch. Tom. I p. 78: Je donne avecques raison, ce me semble, la palme à Iacques Amyot sur tous nos escrivains françois...mais sur tout je luy scais bon gré d'avoir sceu trier et choisir un livre sidigne et si à propos, pour en faire present à son país. Nous aultres ignorants estions perdus, si ce livre ne nous eust relevé du bourbier: sa mercy, nous osons à cett'heure et parler et escrire; les dames en regentent les maistres d'eschole; c'est nostre breviaire.

<sup>58</sup> *Plutarchus totius sapientiae ocellus* Scaligerana Colon. 1625 p. 817.

signal homage; he is, to use Gréard's words, 'le bréviaire du siècle, sa lumière, sa conscience'<sup>59</sup>. 'His writings have proved a rich storehouse from which Christian writers in all ages have largely and freely drawn.' Basil, the great bishop of Cappadocia, derived many a hint from the heathen moralist. Bishop Jeremy Taylor is constantly referring or alluding to his writings; Neander owned his great obligation to the treatise on 'the delays in the divine justice' at a critical period of his life. In the eighteenth century we find Montesquieu<sup>60</sup> borrowing his definition of law from him; Rollin gives almost a literal translation of his *Lives* in his historical descriptions. Rousseau<sup>61</sup> reckons him among the few authors that he read in his old age, 'à cause du profit qu'il y trouve.' 'He is perhaps,' says La Harpe, 'l'esprit le plus naturellement moral, qui ait existé'<sup>62</sup>. 'He is' according to Joubert 'the Herodotus of philosophy in his *Moral works*:' and the same writer regards his *Parallel Lives* 'comme un des plus précieux monuments que l'antiquité nous ait légués. La sagesse antique est là toute entière.' Similarly Koraës pref. p. 73: ἀμφιβάλλω ἂν εὐρίσκεται κἀνὲν ἄλλο σύγγραμμα παρὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου τὰ συγγράμματα πλουσιώτερον ἀπὸ βιωφελῆ παραδείγματα καὶ παραγγέλματα. 'He stands before us,' says a writer in the *Journal of Education*, Vol. II p. 114,

<sup>59</sup> *l. c.* Introd. p. xx. Cf. Montaigne *Essais* II c. 4.

<sup>60</sup> *esprit des lois* I 1.

<sup>61</sup> *les rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, 4<sup>me</sup> Promenade, apud Koraës praef. Plutarch. Tom. I p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> *Lycée*, livre III ch. 11 sect. 2.

'as the legate, the ambassador and the orator on behalf of those institutions, whereby the old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous.'

8. We can readily imagine what a profound impression must have been made upon Plutarch by the great City, which was the heart and centre of the world's activity, with its glorious name and associations<sup>63</sup>, its beautiful and magnificent sights, representing all the grandeur and splendour of the Earth, so that it might well be named *οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομή*, not so much from isolated expressions<sup>64</sup> as from his whole method of speaking of the Roman power, and the deep interest which he manifested in Roman history at a later period of his life. He regarded the Roman empire as a special creation of Providence<sup>65</sup> for helping men to lasting peace and undisturbed possession of their property after a long and dreary period of warfare.

9. From the noise and bustle of the Capital of the World—a fitter residence for him because of the opportunities it afforded of intercourse with great men and the ampler supply of books—he returned to the modest and quiet place of his birth, where he spent the remaining years of his tranquil life, 'being

<sup>63</sup> Rom. c. 1: τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξα διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός.

<sup>64</sup> such as ἡ καλὴ Ῥώμη, as he calls it in the *de solertia animal.* c. 5.

<sup>65</sup> vit. Romuli c. 8: οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προῖβη δυνάμει (Ῥώμη), μὴ θείαν τινα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν. Cf. Pomp. c. 75, Philopoem. c. 17, *de fortuna Romanorum* II p. 316 c—326 a.

loth' as he says 'to make the small town yet smaller by the absence of even one inhabitant<sup>66</sup>.' He made a point of undertaking its humblest offices at first<sup>67</sup>—entertaining as he did the strong conviction that the exercise of public functions was the duty and the proper education of Man. Subsequently he became its *ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος* for more than one year<sup>68</sup>. He was also chosen by his fellow-townsmen to the office of Boeotarch<sup>69</sup>. He likewise officiated as priest of Apollo at Delphi<sup>70</sup>—a high testimony to the worth of his character; and at a later period as *ἀγωνοθέτης* at the Pythian games<sup>71</sup>. But his public duties did not hinder him from making frequent excursions from Chaeronea; for it is clear from allusions in his *Lives* that he was familiar with all the principal localities, not to say the nooks and corners of Greece; he delights to relate his personal reminiscences and all he has seen of the memorials and records of her past splendour<sup>72</sup>.

10. As to the legend that he was raised to the dignity of Consul by the emperor Trajan, and appointed

<sup>66</sup> vit. Dem. c. 2: *ἡμεῖς μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν καί, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται, φιλοχωροῦντες.*

<sup>67</sup> praec. ger. reip. 15, 17.

<sup>68</sup> sympos. II. 10, 1; VI 8, 1.

<sup>69</sup> an seni ger. sit resp. c. 4; praec. ger. reip. c. 17.

<sup>70</sup> sympos. VII 2, 2 where he speaks of Euthydemus as his colleague in the priesthood (*συνιερεῖς*).

<sup>71</sup> ib. V 2, 3.

<sup>72</sup> See especially vit. Phok. c. 18, c. 22, Demosth. c. 7, c. 31, Nikias c. 3, Perikl. c. 13, Agesil. c. 19, c. 35, Lykurg. c. 18, Aristeid. c. 1, c. 17, c. 19—21, c. 27, Themist. c. 22, Sol. c. 25, Alexandr. c. 69, Kim. c. 16.

Governor of Greece—it may be dismissed as not supported by sufficient evidence and on the face of it entirely incredible. It rests on the assertion of two compilers in the middle ages, about seven or eight centuries after the death of Plutarch, viz. the Byzantine historian Georgius Syncellus<sup>73</sup> and Suidas<sup>74</sup>. The story was added to two centuries later by John of Salisbury<sup>75</sup>, the secretary and friend of Thomas à Becket, who averred that Plutarch was the preceptor to Trajan, and published a Latin letter from him to the emperor, which was evidently a forgery. Elsewhere he gives the substance of the treatise alluded to in the letter, and inscribed *Institutio Traiani*. Vincent de Beauvais<sup>76</sup> reproduced the text of this letter, first published by John of Salisbury, and Petrarch<sup>77</sup> the

<sup>73</sup> Πλούταρχος Χαιρωνεύς φιλόσοφος ἐπιτροπεύειν Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεστάθη γηραιός. Georgius the syncellus (i.e. the personal attendant of Tarasius patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806) in his ἐκλογή χρονογραφίας ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι Διοκλητηανοῦ ed. W. Dindorf, Bonn 1829.

<sup>74</sup> Πλούταρχος Χαιρωνεύς, τῆς Βοιωτίας, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος χρόνων καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν· μεταδούς δὲ αὐτῷ Τραϊανὸς τῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίας προσέταξε μηδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἀρχόντων παρῆξ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης τι διαπράττεσθαι. Suidas s. v. p. 8014 ed. Gaisford.

<sup>75</sup> Polieraticus de curialium nugis lib. v, prologus: extat epistula Plutarchi Traianum instituentis, quae cuiusdam politicae constitutionis exprimit sensum. Ea dicitur esse huiusmodi etc.

<sup>76</sup> speculum maius vel historiale nuncupatum, lib. x c. 47 de Plutarcho Traiani praeceptore. Cf. c. 48 de libro Plutarchi misso ad Traianum.

<sup>77</sup> ep. iii, ad Senecam p. 706: Plutarchus siquidem Graecus homo et Traiani principis magister—non erubuit confiteri

fact established by the text; and the romance was subsequently repeated by all editors and translators of the period of the renaissance, Xylander<sup>78</sup> (professor in the University of Heidelberg), Amyot<sup>79</sup> (tutor to the sons of K. Henry II, Bishop of Auxerre and grand Almoner of France), S. Goulard<sup>80</sup>, F. Morel, Decius Celer<sup>81</sup>, Rualdus<sup>82</sup>; and either tacitly or explicitly accepted by scholars and learned men of the 17th century, as S. Petit<sup>83</sup>, G. J. Voss<sup>84</sup> and others.

There is indeed a letter among Plutarch's works in which he dedicated his 'sayings of kings and commanders' (ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν) to Trajan, but it is very different in tone from the preceptorial letter to his supposed pupil, first published in Latin by John of Salisbury.

11. In the retirement of a happy domestic life Plutarch enjoyed abundant leisure for the pursuit of his favourite literary and moral studies. But, unlike

*quod quem tibi ex aequo in moralibus praeceptis obiceret non haberet.*

<sup>78</sup> *vita Plutarchi* prefixed to his transl. of the *Lives*, a. 1560, and also to the Greek ed. Basileae a. 1574.

<sup>79</sup> Amyot *epistre aux lecteurs* a. 1559.

<sup>80</sup> Introduction to his edition of Amyot's translation a. 1588.

<sup>81</sup> *de Plutarchi Chaeron. philosophi gravissimi vita libellus.*

<sup>82</sup> *vita Plutarchi* p. 1—p. 66 in the impression of the Frankfurt A.D. 1599 ed. at Paris A.D. 1624, which contains a portrait of Plutarch, pronounced by D. Wyttenbach to be 'infictum negotium et ploranti monacho simillimum,' and a fulsome dedication to Louis XIII, with a frightful portrait of that monarch on horseback.

<sup>83</sup> *observ.* II 10 p. 280.

<sup>84</sup> *de historicis Graecis* II 10.

12. As to the chronological order of his works we are left very much in the dark. Most of them must have been written in his riper years after the reign of Domitian. There is none which we can refer to an earlier period, except perhaps the treatise on superstition, in which speaking of the Jews he says (c. 8): ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι σαββάτων ὄντων ἐν ἀγνάπτοις καθεζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων κλίμακας προστιθέντων καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καταλαμβάνόντων, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἔμειναν ὥσπερ ἐν σαγήνῃ μιᾷ τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ συνδεδεμένοι: this may have been written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. His treatise *de se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* cannot have been composed in the latest year of his life, because he expressly excludes himself in it

αὶ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμιλῆαι προσβάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἠεὶ καὶ πρᾶξιαν ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δianoian, i.e. "It was for the sake of others that I first undertook to write biographies, but I at once began to dwell upon and delight in them for my own sake, while I endeavoured to the best of my ability to regulate my own life and to make it resemble their virtues, which were reflected in their history as in a mirror. For it seems just as if we lived in personal intercourse with them, when we welcome each character in turn as a guest by the study of their lives, and think 'how great, how noble he was,' as we appropriate from their acts the best and most important as a means of judging of them. 'Ah! what greater joy than this could'st thou receive?' what more efficacious for the elevation of character? By our familiarity with history and practice in writing it, we train ourselves constantly to receive into our minds the memorials of the best and most approved characters, so that, if anything low or vicious or degrading is thrown in our way by the society into which we are necessarily thrown, we regret and expel it from our thoughts, by turning them away, calmly and gently, to the most beautiful models."

(c. 20) from the number of old men. In one of his Treatises he speaks of the Emperor Trajan wintering in Dacia, after building his famous bridge over the Danube<sup>90</sup>, i.e. in A.D. 105—106.

For the date of his Biographies, there is an important passage in that of *Sulla* c. 21, where, after describing the battle of Orchomenus, fought in B.C. 85, he says that many relics of the dead were found in the neighbouring marshes—σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων. From which it follows that Plutarch must have composed the *Life of Sulla* at least not much before A.D. 115, consequently at the close of Trajan's reign.

13. We know of no other events in the life of Plutarch, except a trivial anecdote recorded of him by Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* i 2, 6. As the treatise *de audiendo* afforded us a glimpse of his lecture-room, so his *praecepta de sanitate*, or 'rules for the preservation of health,' give us an insight into his own mode of life, which, as we should have expected without any such allusion, was, in contrast to the prevailing extravagance and luxury of the age, simple and temperate, orderly without any parade of strictness, and ever attended with a vein of charity and good humour. He does not appear to have lived much beyond the year A.D. 120. For he speaks in his *Life of Solon* c. 32 of the Olympieion at Athens as unfinished, and we know that Hadrian completed it at some time

<sup>90</sup> *de primo frigido* 12, 5, where he says συντρίβει τὰ πλοῖα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποβιαζόμενον εἰς ἑαυτὸ καὶ συνθλιβόμενον, ὥς ἰστοροῦσιν οἱ νῦν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου διαχειμάσαντες.



between A.D. 125 and A.D. 130<sup>91</sup>. There is a passage in Artemidorus Daldianus which refers to his death<sup>92</sup>.

It is not known what became of his sons. His nephew Sextus however, son of his brother Timon or Lamprias, lived to be a distinguished Stoic philosopher and became one of the teachers of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose portrait of him would suit admirably for that of Plutarch himself. He says: "From Sextus I learned benevolence of disposition and the example of a household governed in a paternal manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature, and gravity without affectation, and the care which divines the wants of friends, and to bear with ignorant persons and those who form opinions without consideration: the faculty of readily accommodating himself to all, so that simple intercourse with him was more agreeable than any flattery, and those who enjoyed it never had more veneration for him than at that time; the ability to seize and discover and order in an intelligent and methodical way the principles necessary for practical life: never to show anger or any other excessive passion, the talent of being at once the most impassive and the most affectionate of men, to express his good will significantly enough without noise and transport; and the being learned without ostentation<sup>93</sup>."

<sup>91</sup> Dyer's *Ancient Athens* p. 173.

<sup>92</sup> *Oνειροcritica* iv 72.

<sup>93</sup> *de rebus suis* i 9: παρὰ Σέξτου (εἶχον) τὸ εὐμένες καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρονομουμένου καὶ τὴν ἐννοιαν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν καὶ τὸ σέμνὸν ἀπλᾶςως καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων θεμονικῶς καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀθεωρήτου τῶν

14. There is sufficient evidence that Plutarch's works were much read and used soon after his death. Aelius Aristides<sup>54</sup>, the celebrated rhetorician of the second century, and Polyaeus, author of the *στρατηγήματα*, borrowed largely from him. He is quoted by A. Gellius and Galen<sup>55</sup> and referred to by Tatian the apologist in his *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*. In the third century we find Athenaeus constantly quoting or making tacit reference to him, also Porphyrius the neo-Platonist, and Eunapius<sup>56</sup>. Johannes Stobaeus in his collection made extracts of all kinds from his works, including some that are lost. Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* has made constant use of his 'Table talk.' In the sixth century he was carefully read by Sopater the younger of Apamea, the eighth and twelfth books of whose *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι* contained extracts from his writings, among others from his lost lives of Krates, Daiphantus, Pindar, Epameinondas: also from his philosophical treatise *περὶ φύσεως καὶ πόνων*, and from another *περὶ ὀργῆς*, a fragment of which is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus. It is remarkable

οιομένων καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας εὐάρμοστον, ὥστε κολακείας μὲν ἀπάσης προσηρεστέραν εἶναι τῇ ὁμίλῳ αὐτοῦ, αἰδουσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνων τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ καταληπτικῶς καὶ ὁδῶ ἐξευρετικῶς τε καὶ τακτικῶς τῶν εἰς βίον ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἐμφασίν ποτε ὀργῆς ἢ ἄλλου τινοῦ πάθους παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα μὲν ἀπαθέστατον εἶναι ἅμα δὲ φιλοστοργότατον καὶ τὸ εὐφρημον καὶ τοῦτο ἀψοφητί· καὶ τὸ πολυμαθὲς ἀκπιφάντως.

<sup>54</sup> v. Sintenis ad Plut. Pericl. excurs. 3 p. 302 ff. ed. Lips. a. 1835.

<sup>55</sup> *de dogmate Platonis et Hippocratis*.

<sup>56</sup> See above note 56.

that Sopater made extracts from his spurious works also, such as that 'on rivers' and 'the apophthegms of Kings and Generals.' Ecclesiastical writers, as Clement of Alexandria and even Basil the Great, as has been before<sup>97</sup> noticed, were not ashamed to adorn themselves with his feathers, an easy proceeding which proved too tempting for compilers like Zonaras, and Michael Psellus not to imitate.

*b. The Parallel Lives of Plutarch*

15. The collection known as Plutarch's Lives, which constitutes the second half of Plutarch's writings, is not what its author left behind him either in form or arrangement<sup>98</sup>. To the proper work 'Parallel Lives' narrated in a series of books, each containing the accounts of one Greek and one Roman followed by a brief comparison (*σύγκρισις*) of their merits, some single Lives have been added. Those of Otho and Galba belonged probably to a series of Lives of Roman Emperors from Augustus to Vitellius. Artaxerxes and Aratus are detached narratives, like others, no longer extant, such as Herakles, Aristomenes, Hesiod, Pindar, Daiphantus, Krates the cynic philosopher, and Aratus the poet. In the Parallel Lives themselves there are gaps. There was one Book containing those of Epameinondas and Scipio. Several of the com-

<sup>97</sup> See above p. xxiii.

<sup>98</sup> A. H. Clough, *Life of Plutarch*, prefixed to his edition of Dryden's Translation, p. v.

parisons (*συγκρίσεις*) are wanting, having been either lost or left incomplete. Occasional references in the extant lives show that their original order was different from the present. For example, in the life of Theseus, which stands first, mention occurs of the lives of Lykurgus and Numa as already written.

The forty-six parallel Lives which have come down to us are as follows, each pair constituting one book (*βιβλίον*):

1. Theseus and Romulus.
2. Lykurgus and Numa.
3. Solon and Valerius Publicola.
4. Themistokles and Camillus.
5. Perikles and Q. Fabius Maximus.
6. Alkibiades and Coriolanus.
7. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
8. Pelopidas and Marcellus.
9. Aristides and Cato maior.
10. Philopoemen and Titus Quintius Flaminius.
11. Pyrrhus and Marius.
12. Lysander and Sulla.
13. Kimon and Lucullus.
14. Nikias and Crassus.
15. Eumenes and Sertorius.
16. Agesilaus and Pompeius.
17. Alexander and Julius Caesar.
18. Phokion and Cato the younger.
19. Agis and Kleomenes.
20. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.
21. Demosthenes and Cicero.
22. Demetrius Poliorketes and Marcus Antonius.
23. Dion and M. Junius Brutus.

16. In order to form a proper estimate of the merits of Plutarch as a Biographer we must see what was the object he had in view. He himself announces in several places the rules by which he was guided as to what he should admit in his narrative as well as what he should omit. Thus in his Introduction to the *Life of Alexander the Great*, where he makes an apology for the brevity with which he is compelled to treat of the numerous events in the life of that hero and of Caesar, 'I am not a writer' he says 'of histories but of biographies. My readers therefore must excuse me if I do not record all events or describe in detail, but only briefly touch upon, the noblest and most famous. For the most conspicuous do not always or of necessity show a man's virtues or failings, but it often happens that some light occasion, a word or a jest, gives a clearer insight into character, than battles with their slaughters of tens of thousands and the greatest arrays of armies and sieges of cities. Accordingly as painters produce a likeness by a representation of the countenance and the expression of the face, in which the character is revealed, without troubling themselves about the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to look rather into the signs of a man's character, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of great events and battles<sup>99</sup>.'

<sup>99</sup> οὐδὲν ἄλλο προερούμεν ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, εἰὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐξεργασμένως τι τῶν περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πλείστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν ἀλλὰ βίους οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἐνεστί δηλώσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρῶγμα βραχὺ πολλὰκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἐμφασιν

So again in his *Life of Nikias*<sup>100</sup>, while he takes the historian Timaeos to task for venturing to emulate Thucydides in describing the events of the Sicilian campaign and laughs at his feeble and senseless attempts to imitate his great and unapproachable model, he professes his own immunity from such an error, he will be found to pass over lightly all the events which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded, and in the rest to endeavour to collect materials for his biography from various sources, from the scattered remarks of other writers not commonly known, from ancient records and monuments not accessible to all, and whatever else would serve to decipher the nature and the character of his hero<sup>101</sup>. The interest of historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides is for the achievements and fates of political communities,

ἧθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἑσάσας ἐτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. vit. Alexandr. 1, 1.

<sup>100</sup> c. 1 ἡ περὶ λέξιν ἀμιλλα καὶ ζηλοτυπία πρὸς ἐτέροις μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν, ἀν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀμίμητα γίγνηται καὶ τελῶς ἀναίσθητον.

<sup>101</sup> ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἐξήνεγκε πράξεις καὶ Φίλιστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἔστι, μάλιστα γὰρ διὰ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχούσας ἐπιδραμῶν βραχύως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἵνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελὴς δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων δ' εἰρημένα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπειραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἀχρηστον ἀθροίσαν ἱστορίαν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἧθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιούζ. c. 1.

while they are comparatively indifferent to those of individuals. This may easily be accounted for from the circumstances of the age in which they lived, when the state was all in all and the individual entirely merged in it. But a change in this respect had set in as early as the following century, when the tendency was to connect the names of individuals with great achievements, so that, while Marathon and Salamis were always described as victories of the Athenian people and not of Miltiades and Themistokles only, Timotheus is frequently spoken of as the conqueror of Corcyra, Chabrias of Naxos, and Iphikrates of the Lacedaemonians<sup>102</sup>. But by the time of Plutarch the Greeks as a nation were politically effaced, and all interest in their country of necessity quite extinct. Greece was no longer mother of the great in arts or arms. She was 'Greece but living Greece no more.' Accordingly in Theopompus, the historian of King Philip, we find the characteristics of individuals made much more prominent and more carefully detailed: still more in Plutarch the whole becomes lost in the individual, history in biography: his interest is for personal character and individual actions and motives to action: more or less of historical background he was obliged to give to the portraits he drew,

<sup>102</sup> Dem. adv. Aristokr. § 198 p. 686: τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε οὐδενὸς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπεστέρησαν ἑαυτοὺς, οὐδ' ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν εἶλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μórαν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ἐνίκη ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας.

but always in subordination to the portrait itself: he is, in short, only accidentally an historian; he is really and essentially a philosopher and moralist: 'his mind is continually running on the ethics of Aristotle and the high Platonic theories which formed the religion of the educated population of his time;' and the Biographies take their tone from the spirit which animated the writer in his philosophical works, a proof of which is furnished by the preamble to the *Life of Perikles*, which is to the moral treatises what the example is to the rule<sup>103</sup>.

c. *The Life of Themistokles*

17. So far, then, in the biography of Themistokles we possess a valuable and important supplement to the chapters of Herodotus and Thucydides relating to him. We must not look to Plutarch for information concerning the main incidents of the Persian war or the building of the walls of Athens: he presupposes in his readers a knowledge of these events from the great historians who wrote of them; the information which he supplies is merely supplementary to their narrative; if he does give a more or less detailed account of any event after Herodotus, the historian's

<sup>103</sup> 'Each of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and *Morals*, constitutes a complement to the other; the one half setting forth to us and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action; the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought.' Trench *l. c.* p. 90.



clear and racy narrative is obscured by the biographer's omissions or his confused and inaccurate description.

On the other hand, we should form but a very imperfect notion of the character of Themistokles himself from the writings of the historians: whereas in Plutarch's story of his life, we have a tolerably complete portrait of the man and his distinguishing characteristics. Interest in the personal history and characteristics of great men was unfortunately awakened too late among the Greek historians for them to be able to draw their knowledge of a man like Themistokles from direct sources: consequently Plutarch had at his disposal, in the works of the historians of the fourth and third centuries B.C., nothing but a mass of tradition, partly confused and obscure, partly interpolated, where originally fragmentary and incomplete, by subsequent writers. Now admirable as he was in some respects, we must admit that historical criticism was not Plutarch's strong point, certainly not according to the demands of modern historic science; he was not the man to correct such corruptions; nor had he any desire to exchange a full and complete narrative for one more or less fragmentary and imperfect by the removal of the embellishing additions which served to complete it—a process which, generally speaking, was repugnant to the historians of that time, and in Plutarch's case would have been inconsistent with the leading purpose of his biography; for his object was not to ascertain historic truth in the interest of science, but to represent a picture of human virtue in the interest of ethical philosophy.

As an instance in point, we may quote the story

of Themistokles' adventures in Asia. Nowhere does Plutarch present a fuller and more graphic or more interesting picture than here; but nowhere have we a less historically true representation of facts. The sum of what is clearly authenticated about them is given by Thucydides, and though Plutarch was acquainted with and even quotes his account (27, 1), yet he disdained to reproduce it, and chose rather to defer to the authority of an inferior writer like Phanias of Eresus.

Now, however well versed in historical literature Plutarch may have judged Phanias to be (13, 3), still he could not possibly have concealed from himself the fact that, if Phanias and Thucydides differed, the probability was beyond all question in favour of the latter being right.

But the fact is, Thucydides makes his hero die very prosaically of disease; and, if he does add that according to some accounts he poisoned himself, he spoils the story again by the motives which he assigns for the act, viz. his inability to fulfil the engagements which he had made to the King.

The narrative of Thucydides, compared with that of his rival, is, generally speaking, sober and simple as reality; we cannot therefore be surprised at Plutarch's preference. He says nothing about the dying of disease; he accepts as true the motives assigned by Thucydides for the suicide, but improves upon them by the addition of moral motives, which he believes to have been the really decisive ones. Our own feeling, it is true, no less than Plutarch's, revolts at the idea of a hero, who by his incomparable genius

and great achievements has excited our lively interest, being deterred from making war against his native land merely by some opportune illness, or by his conviction of the impracticability of the attempt. Hence even modern historians differ in their judgment: some, like Sintenis, in disregard of Thucydides' statement, consider the account of the suicide by poison, with Plutarch's explanation of the motives which led to it, as historical; others, as Ernst Curtius, while deferring to the authority of the great historian, attribute the illness to mental rather than physical causes; in fact they virtually accept the version given by Plutarch himself. Is it possible then to read between the lines of Thucydides without assuming that the great historian thought and felt no more about the events and persons he depicts than he can express in his highly realistic manner?

18. It must not, however, be supposed that Plutarch defied criticism altogether in his exclusive predilection for what was romantic. There was, for instance, a very touching and tragical narrative of the burial of Themistokles written by Phylarchus, the historian of the Spartan king Cleomenes III, which Plutarch rejects as unhistorical, precisely because it is tragical and touching. As a rule, he has none of that love of painting scenes of horror at the expense of historical truth, which is expressly censured by Polybius in the case of Phylarchus, and by himself elsewhere<sup>104</sup> in the case of Duris of Samos, but he appears always cautious and unimpassioned and critical, so far as a natural

<sup>104</sup> Perikl. 28, 2.

impulse, untutored and without searching study, can be. Method indeed he has none—as is shown by the predilection, which he openly avows, for anecdotes and apophthegms. What he says in the passage already quoted<sup>100</sup> from the life of Alexander is quite correct; viz. that such small traits may be in the highest degree valuable for a knowledge of character, although, on the other hand, they are by no means the chief point, nor do they constitute the greatness of the character and of the man, in virtue of which he is considered worthy of a special biography. And they are valuable only when they are true or at least conceived in the spirit or under the influence of the person concerned. But Plutarch pays so little attention to the truth or probability of his stories, that he frequently collects anything that comes to hand, placing the true and the false, the good and the bad, the clever and the foolish, side by side without any discrimination.

19. Among the faults of Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles* must be reckoned his disregard of chronology—the natural consequence of the purely ethical aim of his biographies; his lack of insight into the true significance of political events which he is relating; and his inability to estimate rightly great political situations—faults, however, which are more conspicuous in his other lives, as for instance in that of *Perikles*. On the other hand, we find in the *Life of Themistokles* fewer gleams of pictorial force, and less sympathy for his hero; and not without reason, for Themistokles could hardly be considered a mirror of all virtue if we except the virtue of *σοφία*. Nor

<sup>100</sup> note 99 p. xxxvi.

does Plutarch concern himself much about removing or palliating the blots in his hero's character, chief among which must be reckoned his unscrupulous avarice: indeed he does no more than occasionally tone down the narrative of Herodotus in favour of Themistokles. Thus, for instance, he makes him divide the Euboic money honestly between Eurybiades and the rest, whereas, according to Herodotus, he gave some to the others, but reserved by far the greater share for himself. This weakness is in general a trait of Plutarch's which does more honour to his humanity than to his credibility as an historian: in the present biography he extends his indulgence to the Corinthian Adeimantos, who, as is well known, plays a bad part in Herodotus, but is never once mentioned by name in Plutarch in the passages relating to him. He had no doubt in this one instance cogent historical grounds for mistrusting Herodotus; still it is a strange sort of criticism to take a narrative about a man out of Herodotus and then to put down 'somebody' instead of mentioning the man by name.

20. The Biography falls into the following parts:—

A. c. 1—c. 5. In this the Biographer treats of the family (1), the youthful education (2) and the political life of Themistokles up to the time of the war with Xerxes, and has collected a string of anecdotes about his hero.

B. c. 6—c. 17. In this section he contributes some gleanings to the history of the great Persian War, a knowledge of which in general is presupposed in his readers, in so far as Themistokles was actively

engaged in it, i.e. until the retreat of the Persian king and the honours paid to Themistokles by the Spartans. To these gleanings a fresh series of anecdotes, affording further illustration of his hero's character, are added (c. 18).

*C.* c. 19—c. 22. This section carries us up to the ostracism of Themistokles.

*D.* c. 23—c. 31. The fourth depicts his accusation and flight, his reception at the Court of the King and residence in Asia until his death.

*E.* c. 32. The biography concludes with an account of the family he left behind him and of his burial.

*d. The sources of information accessible to Plutarch*

21. No less than thirty authors, all told, are named or quoted by Plutarch in this Biography, as his sources of information: but there is a wide difference between them as regards the importance and extent of the materials which they afford. The two great historians Herodotus and Thucydides supply the foundation respectively for the second, and the third and fourth principal divisions of the Life: the former is quoted in c. 7, c. 17, and c. 21, the latter in c. 25 and c. 27. It is easy to see, what in particular is borrowed from these authors and what not: and notice is throughout taken in the Commentary. His principal authority for the first Division was probably Theopompus, who is also quoted in c. 19, c. 25 and c. 31: for the continuation and completion of the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, Ephorus is cited in c. 27. These two historians of the fourth century B.C. were both brought up in the school of Isokrates, their style

consequently has a strong rhetorical tinge: but they were radically different in character and turn of mind and accordingly chose different subjects. Ephorus in his 30 books of *ιστορίαι* treated of the history of the Hellenes and Barbarians before the migration of the Herakleidae—which since his time has always been taken as the beginning of the historical period—up to the siege of Perinthos in B.C. 340; and showed himself in his writings rather a careful scholar, whose chronicles of the foundation of cities, old constitutions and such like matters were universally esteemed, than a lively historian, capable of deep insight into the causes and relations of events. Polybius, for instance, reproaches him for his inability to describe a battle, and his statement of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, preserved in the works of Diodorus Siculus and in Plutarch's *Perikles*, is a striking instance of the vast difference between him and Thucydides. Theopompus, on the other hand, who was a partisan of the aristocratic faction in his native town Chios and who lived for a long time in exile, like his great predecessor, devoted his leisure and a considerable part of his ample fortune towards procuring accurate information about the particulars he chronicled, and, though he did not attain to the greatness of Thucydides and was too subjective a writer, nevertheless the loss of his historical works—the *σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν*, in 12 books, from the battle of Kunossema to that of Knidos, and the *Φιλιππικά* in 28 books—is one of the most to be regretted in Greek Literature. His *Philippica*, indeed, was a very miscellaneous compilation, without much method or unity of purpose and contained a great

number of digressions. One of these, forming the tenth Book, gives an account of the early history of Attica and of the old Athenian statesmen, amongst others of Themistokles, about whom he was able to get together, with his characteristic diligence and trustworthiness, some tolerably well-attested intelligence. The chronicle of Theopompus may conjecturally be traced in the following passages of his Life:—in c. i, 1 the statements concerning his parentage; in c. ii, 1, 2 his education, and 5 his early life; in c. iii, 1, 2 his entrance on political life and rivalry with Aristides; in c. iv, 1—3 the development of the Athenian naval power; in c. v, 4 *fin.* the ostracism of Aristides; in c. xi, 1 his recall; in c. xix, 1 a quotation concerning the building of the walls, and 2—3 that of the Peiræus (with the exception of the last sentence); in c. xx, 2 *fin.* and xxii, 1 *init.* his unpopularity at Athens and Sparta, and finally the quotations in c. xxv, 2 and c. xxxi, 2.

Plutarch's obligations to Ephorus may to some extent be ascertained from the works of Diodorus Siculus, whose compilation was chiefly based upon his history. Thus the description of Xerxes' arrangements before the battle of Salamis<sup>166</sup> in c. xii, 2 and the account of the death of the Persian admiral<sup>167</sup> in c. xiv, 2, 3 appear to be borrowed from him. The same may be said of the account of Pausanias' negotiations with Themistokles in c. xxiii, 2, 3 and of

<sup>166</sup> Diod. Sic. xi 17 D speaks of the Egyptian fleet, Plutarch of 200 ships, but acc. to Herodotus the Egyptians had supplied as many as that.

<sup>167</sup> cf. Diod. Sic. c. 18 and c. 27.



the order for the arrest of the latter<sup>108</sup> and we may add also c. xxvii, 1.

22. Plutarch, however, must have been far more indebted to Phanias,<sup>109</sup> than to these two historians, and a life of Themistokles by this author must apparently have been at the disposal of our Biographer. Phanias shared the predilection of Aristotle and his school for polyhistory and extended research in the whole field of literature: but, while the other Peripatetics were merely careless and uncritical compilers, Phanias, who unlike the rest cultivated style and studied to make his narrative interesting, must be designated without reserve as a falsifier of history. He gives a much more minute and detailed account of Themistokles' fortunes in Asia than a contemporary could have given, and what with dreams and portents there is a halo of romance about it: so that as a piece of history it is quite untrustworthy<sup>110</sup>. We can form a pretty clear idea of the extent of Plutarch's obligation to Phanias; the story about the human sacrifice at Salamis (c. xiii, 2) as well as that about Architeles at Artemisium; and finally the notice about Themistokles' mother. And besides these, the tale of the owl (c. xii, 1) may possibly be from him.

<sup>108</sup> Diodor. Sic. c. 54 f.

<sup>109</sup> cp. § 17 p. xli.

<sup>110</sup> Blass thinks there is little doubt that the whole of the section c. 26—c. 31, 2, which contains a coherent and homogeneous narrative, is taken out of Phanias. He is expressly quoted for the conversation in c. 27 (besides c. 29, 4), but if so, then c. 28 must also be from him, and the mention therein made of the dream in Nikogenes' house gives us further ground for forming a conclusion as to c. 26.

23. The importance of the remaining authorities for the biography is much slighter : and therefore a brief survey of them will be sufficient. Aristotle is quoted in c. x, 4, and his successor Theophrastus in c. xxv, 1, 2; the 'Politics' of the former are presumably referred to, which together with the description of the constitutions of cities contained a good many historical notices ; in the case of the latter writer a philosophical treatise is especially named as the source of the first statement. Besides these another member of the Peripatetic school, Ariston of Keos (B.C. 225), is quoted as the authority for an extraordinary love story (c. III, 2), and the great Mathematician and Chronologer Eratosthenes of Kyrene, who was a Stoic philosopher and in a philosophical treatise (c. xxvii, 3) contributed some more satisfactory information about Themistokles than Phanias did. Plato is quoted in c. iv, 3 and in c. xxxii, and is perhaps the authority for c. xviii, 2.

24. Of the historians proper, besides those already named, who are occasionally made use of, the oldest is Charon of Lampsakos (c. xxvii, 1), who was prior to Herodotus and is reckoned among the logographers; he was the author among other writings of five books of *Ἱστορίαι*. There was a work under a similar title by Deinon of Kolophon in the time of Alexander; and his son Kleitarchus, one of the most untrustworthy chroniclers of Alexander the Great, is mentioned along with him. Herakleides also of Kyme is mentioned, who likewise wrote *Ἱστορίαι* and may have been a contemporary of theirs. Neanthes of Kyzicus (at the end of the third century B.C.) is quoted

in c. 1, 2 and c. xxix, 4; the passages are from his *Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι*. Somewhat older than these is Phylarchos (c. xxxii, 2). The antiquarian writers, who composed the *Atthides* on the legendary and historical lore of Athens, form a special group, the oldest of whom Kleidemos is mentioned in c. x, 4 and Phanodemos in c. xiii, 1; Philochoros, the most important of all (at the beginning of the third century B.C.), is probably the authority for the tale of the dog of Xanthippos, c. x, 5<sup>111</sup>. About the same time with him, lived Diodorus Periegetes, from whose treatise on the monuments of Attica (*περὶ μνημάτων*) the account of Themistokles' grave in c. xxxii, 3 is borrowed. A comparison of the life of Kimon, c. xvi, might lead us to suppose that the circumstantial account of Themistokles' family is taken from the same source. Akestodorus of Megalopolis (c. xiii, 1), who is quoted together with Phanodemos, has left behind him a work *περὶ πόλεων*.

25. The writing *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*, which passed under the name of Ste-simbrotos of Thasos, a sophist who lived at Athens in the age of Perikles and was occupied in the explanation of Homer, belongs apparently to a much earlier period. The work in question, which has lately been pronounced to be a spurious production of a later age<sup>112</sup>, so far as Themistokles is concerned (c. ii, 3, c. iv, 4,

<sup>111</sup> cf. Aelian N. A. xii 85, who relates the same story, referring to Aristotle and Philochoros as vouchers for it.

<sup>112</sup> c. Bursian, *Litt. Centralbl.* 1860 p. 620, and Franz Rühl, *die Quellen Plutarchs im Leben des Kimon*, Marburg 1867, p. 29—37.

c. xxiv, 3), is altogether untrustworthy. About the same time as Stesimbrotos lived Ion the tragic and lyric poet of Chios, whose prose work *Ἐπιδημία*, which records the author's experiences during his visits to other countries and his interviews with celebrated men, even in the scanty fragments of it which are extant, gives evidence of a refined and highly cultivated mind. The authenticity of this work has been disputed by some, its credibility by others, but without any reason. In the Life of Themistokles it forms the foundation for the anecdote related in c. II, 3.

26. The remaining authorities cited by Plutarch are either the Attic orators, such as Andokides (c. xxxii, 2), known as the accuser in the trial of the Hermokopidae, who however has no claim to historical credibility either in his account of Themistokles or in any other, where he is not relating his own experiences; or poets as Simonides (c. i, 3; c. xv, 2), Pindar (c. viii, 2), Aeschylus (c. xiv, 1), Aristophanes (c. xix, 3), and his contemporary Plato the comic poet (c. xxxii, 3), and finally, one of much greater importance than all these for his life, the Rhodian Timokreon (c. xxi, 2, 3), famous as an athlete as well as lyric poet, and as a bitter enemy not only of Themistokles but of Simonides and many others.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
63. 1.	525	Birth of THEMISTOKLES ( <i>circa</i> ). Birth of AESCHYLUS.	Kambyzes conquers Egypt in the 6th year of his reign. War of the Spartans against Polykrates of Samos.
64. Miltiades 2.	524 523	Choerilus first exhibits tragedy.	
3.	522		End of Polykrates.
4.	521		Death of Kambyzes, over- throw of the party of the Magians and accession of Darius ( <i>act.</i> 28).
65.	520	Hekataeus and Dionysius of Miletus fl. Melanippides of Melos, the dithyrambic poet, fl.	
2.	519	Birth of Kratinus the comic poet.	The Plataeans place them- selves under the protection of Athens. The power and prosperity of the Aeginet- ans at their height. They defeat the Samian pirates.
3.	518	Birth of Pindar.	
66. 2.	515		Miltiades governor of the Chersonese.
3.	514		Hipparchus slain by Harmo- dus and Aristogelton.
67. 1.	511	PHRYNICHUS (5, 3), the tragic poet, gains his first victory.	
2.	510		EXPULSION OF THE PEISIS- TRATIDAE. Reforms of Kleisthenes at Athens.
68. Isagoras	508		

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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OLYMPIADS AND ANALOGIES	B.C.		
69. Akastos- rides	604	CHAMOS, the historian, of Lampakos B. (27, 1).	
2.	603	Hierakleitos of Ephesus, the philosopher, and Lamos of Hierakos, the lyric poet, B.	
3.	602	Pindar Pyth. x <i>Hippokleia Thessala</i> .	Naval empire of Eretria.
4.	601	Helikles assists at the deliberations of the Ionians respecting the revolt.	Plage of Naxos by Aristagoras and the Persians. Revolt of Aristagoras from Persia.
70. Myrus	600	Birth of Anaxagoras the philosopher. Epicharmus perfects co- medy in Sicily.	
2.	499	AMENETUS (see 26) first exhibits tragedy with Pratinas and Choeril- lus.	Outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Hardly taken and burnt by the Ionians, assisted by the Athenians.
71. Hippar- chus	498	Birth of Hellankus of Mytilene the historian.	
2. Philip- pus	495	Birth of SOPHOKLES.	
3. Pytho- kleus	494	Pindar Pyth. vi <i>Xenokleia Agrigentina</i> .	The Battle of Lade and fall of Miletus.
4. Theo- stokles	493		Miltiades takes flight from the Thracian Chersonese to Athens. Archonship of Themistokles.
72. Diognetos	492		Expedition of Mardonius. Shipwreck of the Persian fleet off Mt. Athos.
2. Hytri- lides	491		Darius sends to demand earth and water from the Greeks. Demaratos (29, 3), King of Sparta, deposed by the intrigues of his col- league Kleomenes. Feud between Athens and Ar- gina (4, 1). The founda- tion of the Peloponnese.
3. Phoe- nippes	490	Pindar Pyth. 7 Aeschylus fights at Ma- rathon (see 26).	Second invasion of Europe by the Persians under Dares and Artabazanes, guided by Hippias. They land in Attica and are defeated at MARATHON, Sept. 12, by the Athenians and Plataeans under the command of Mil- tiades (3, 4).
4. Aris- tides	489		Failure of Miltiades to take Paros; his indictment, con- viction and death.
73. Anskles	488		
1.	487	Chionides, the Athenian comic poet, first sa- tirical. Minonides of Keos (3, 4) B.	
2.	486	Pindar Pyth. 8	Revolt of Egypt from Persia.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
4. Philo- krates	485		Death of Dareios and acces- sion of Xerxes. Gelon becomes tyrant of Sy- racuse.
74. Leostrat- os	484	Birth of Herodotus. Pindar Ol. x and xi <i>Agæidamo Locrensi</i> . Aeschylus gains the prize in Tragedy.	Egypt reconquered by the Persians.
3. Nikode- mos	483		Ostracism of ARISTEIDES (12, 1).
4. Themis- tokles	481		Athens under the guidance of THEMISTOKLES. Xerxes in winter-quarters at Sardes. Formation of the Isthmian confederacy under the nominal hegemony of Sparta.
75. Kallikles	480	Birth of EURIPIDES. Pherekydes, of Athens, the historian, fl. Anaxagoras begins his career at Athens.	Third Persian Invasion by Xerxes (9, 2). Battles of THERMOPIYAE (9, 1), and ARTEMISIUM (8, 1), fol- lowed by that of SALAMIS, Sept. 20 (14). Battle of Himera.
2. Xan- thip- pus	479	Birth of Antipho, the Athenian orator. Birth of Choerilus of Samos, the epic poet (?).	Second evacuation of Athens and occupation of it by the Persians. Battles of Plataeae and My- kae, followed by a renewal of the Isthmian confeder- ation and the liberation of Thrace and Macedon from the Persian power. Vic- tory of Mykae. Rebuild- ing of Athens. The Pelo- ponnesians hinder the build- ing of the walls.
3. Timos- thenes	478	Herodotus' history ter- minates with the siege of Sestos. Pindar Pyth. ix <i>Teleicrati Cyrenaeo</i> . Pyth. xi <i>Thrasydæo</i> <i>puero Thebano</i> .	Themistokles at Sparta. His administrative reforms, con- sequent upon the creation of the Peloponnese. Siege and fall of Sestos. Hiero suc- ceeds Gelon as tyrant of Syracuse. Recall of Pansa- nias from Byzantium to Sparta.
4. Adel- man- tos	477	Themistokles wins a prize as tragic choragus (5, 3). Phrynichus gains his last victory with the <i>Phoe- nissae</i> , 1b.	Formation of a confederacy in the Archipelago with Athens as the federal cap- ital. Aristides appointed treasurer, and assessor of the tribute to be paid by the several states.
76. Phaëdon	476	Pindar Olymp. xiv <i>Asopicho Orchomenio</i> . Simonides (æet. 80) gains the prize ἀνδρῶν χάρις.	Victories of Kimon, who takes Elon on the Strymon and Skyros.
2. Dromo- kloides	475		

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OLYMPIANS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
3. Akas- torides	474	Pindar Pyth. 1 and 3	Hiero's naval victory off Ku- mae over the Tuscans.
4. Menon	473	Pindar Nemean 1.	
77. Chares	472	Aeschylus Persae (14. 1). Pindar Olymp. 1 and 12. Nem. 9, Isthm. 2. Them- istokles visits the O- lympian games (17. 2).	Death of Theron of Agrigen- tum.
2. Praxi- ergus	471	Birth of THUCYDIDES, the historian (27. 1). Timokreon of Rhodes, the lyric poet, fl. (21. 2).	Ostracism of Themistokles and his withdrawal to Ar- gos (23. 1). Pausanias, convicted of trea- son, is put to death.
3. Demo- tion	470		
4. Apae- phion	469		Perikles begins to take part in public affairs. The remains of Theseus transported to Athens by Kimon.
78. Theago- nides	468	Pindar Olymp. 6. First tragic victory of Sopho- kles, act. 27. Birth of SOKRATES.	Death of Aristides. Myce- nae destroyed by the Ar- gives.
2. Lysis- tratos	467	Birth of Andokides, one of the ten Attic orators. Death of Simonides.	Death of Hiero.
3. Lysa- nias	466	Pindar Pyth. 4 and 5 <i>Ar- cistaeo Cyrenaeo</i> . Diagoras of Melos fl.	Expulsion of Thrasybulos, Hiero's successor, from Syracuse, and overthrow of the Gelonian dynasty. Siege of Naxos, during which Themistokles in his flight from Greece, passed through the Athenian fleet (25. 1). Victory on the Eurymedon. Revolt of Thasos from Athens. Death of Xerxes; soon after which Themistokles ar- rived in Persia during the influence of Artaban- us, by whom he is in- troduced to Artaxerxes I. (27).
4. Lysit- heos	465		Revolt of the Helots against Spartans; rupture of A- thens with Sparta: alliance between Athens and Argos. The Thesians are reduced to subjection in the third year. Regeneration of Argos. Third year of the Messenian war. Expedition of Kimon to Sparta. Kimon ostracised by the de- mocratic party, headed by his rival PERIKLES. Sepa- rate alliance between A- thens, Argos and Thestaly. Megara joins Athenian al- liance; long walls of Me- gara built.
79. Archi- demides	464	Pindar Olymp. 7 <i>Diago- rae Rhodii</i> ; 13 <i>Xeno- phonti Corinthio</i> .	
2. Tiepo- lenos	463		
3. Konon	462		
4. Euthip- pos	461		



OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
80. Phrasikleides	460	Birth of Hippokrates the physician. Birth of Demokritos. Pindar Ol. 8 <i>Alcimedonti puero</i> .	Revolt of Inarus and first year of the war between Egypt and Persia. Kimon's expedition to Egypt. N.B. Curtius places the DEATH of THEMISTOKLES about this year ( <i>Hist. Greece</i> . Vol. II. p. 361) and his birth in 525. Plutarch says he lived 65 years (31, 4).
2. Philokles	459	Birth of Lysias, one of the ten Attic orators.	
3. Bion	458	The <i>Oresteia</i> of Aeschylus performed.	
4. Mnesitheides	457		Campaign of the Spartans in Doris, and Athenian defeat at the battle of Tanagra.
81. Kallias	456	Pindar Olymp. 9. Herodotus ( <i>act.</i> 28) recites his history at the Olympic games (?). Death of Aeschylus, <i>act.</i> 69.	Victory of the Athenians under Myronides over the Boeotians at Oenophyta. Completion of the long walls of Athens. Fall of Ithome.
2. Sostitatos	455	First play ( <i>Πελοπιδες</i> ) of Euripides, <i>act.</i> 25, which gains the prize.	Campaign of Tolmides. He settles the expelled Messenians at Naupaktos. All Egypt reduced, except the marshes under Amyrtaeus (see a.c. 449). Surrender of Ithome. Aegina conquered by Athens.
3. Ariston	454		Campaign of Perikles at Skyron. Return of Kimon.
4. Lysikrates	453		
82. Chaerophon	452	Pindar Olymp. 4, 5 <i>Psau-midi Camarinæo</i> .	
2. Antidotus	451	Ion of Chios begins to exhibit tragedy.	
3. Euthydemos	450	Anaxagoras, <i>act.</i> 50, leaves Athens. Krates, the comic poet, and Bakchylides the lyric poet, fl.	Five Years' truce between Athens and Sparta, made through the intervention of Kimon.
4. Pedieus	449		Renewal of the war with Persia. The Athenians send help to Amyrtaeus. Last campaign and death of Kimon and victory of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus.
83. Philiakos	448	Cratini <i>Archilochi</i> .	
2. Timarchides	447		Defeat of the Athenians under Tolmides by the Boeotians at Koroneia. Termination of the Five Years' truce. Some place the death of Themistokles in this year.

## ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

- I    Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρό-  
 τερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατὴρ γὰρ The parent-  
age of The-  
mistokles.  
 ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν  
 Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δῆμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος  
 5 φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν  
     Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι  
     τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλησίν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.  
 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ 2  
 Θράτταν ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα  
 10 ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν  
     αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προστίθῃσι. διὸ  
     καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων  
     (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους,  
     ἐπεὶ κάκεινος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνεί-  
 15 χετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ  
     τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὐ γεγονότων νεανίσκων  
     καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι  
     μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούρ- 3  
     γως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.  
 20 Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετείχε δῆλός

ἐστὶ τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκο-  
μυδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων  
αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σι-  
μωνίδης ἰστορήκεν.

- II Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι 5  
καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαι-  
His boyhood. ρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν  
γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων  
γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρραθύμει καθάπερ οἱ  
λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελε- 10  
τῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ  
λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων.  
2<sup>ο</sup> Ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς  
'οὐδὲν ἔση, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως  
ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν.' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς 15  
μὲν ἡθοποιούς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευ-  
θέριον σπουδαζόμενας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως  
ἐξεμάνθανε· τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομέ-  
νων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει  
3 πιστεύων. Ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ 20  
ἀστελαῖς λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πε-  
παιδεύσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἠναγκάζετο  
φορικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι λύραν μὲν  
ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ  
ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλα- 25  
βὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι  
Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θε-  
μιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι  
τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος· Περι-  
κλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, 30

Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμί-  
 ους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε. Μᾶλλον οὖν 4  
 αὖ τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα  
 τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε  
 5 ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλο-  
 σόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὔσαν  
 δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν,  
 ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ  
 αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος ἦν οἱ μετὰ  
 10 ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόν-  
 τες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγους  
 σοφιστὰι προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἤδη 5  
 πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις  
 τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος,  
 15 ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἀνευ λόγου  
 καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας μεγάλας ποιουμένη  
 μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξι-  
 σταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὥς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὡμο-  
 λόγει καὶ τοὺς τραχυτέρους πῶλους ἀρίστους  
 20 ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς προσήκει τύχῳσι  
 παιδείας καὶ καταρτίσεως. Ἄ δὲ τούτων ἕξαρ- 8  
 τῶσιν ἐνιοὶ διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς  
 ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιλύπου γενο-  
 25 μένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τουναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ  
 λέγοντες, ὅτι τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν  
 ὁ πατήρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς  
 τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὥς δὴ καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται.  
 30 τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

- III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα  
 καὶ σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὀρμὴ κρατῆ-  
 σαι, δι' ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν  
 ἐφιέμενος ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς 5  
 τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρω-  
 τεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν  
 Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰὲ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ.  
 καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα  
 2 μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν. Ἡράσθησαν γὰρ 10  
 ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κεῖου τὸ γένος  
 ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορήκεν· ἐκ  
 δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στα-  
 σιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν  
 τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. 15  
 πρῶτος γὰρ ὧν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρό-  
 πον ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς  
 χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου  
 μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἠναγκάζετο τῷ  
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινεῖν καὶ 20  
 μεγάλας ἐπιφέρουντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολ-  
 3 λάκις ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐξῆσιν. Λέ-  
 γεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ  
 πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε  
 νέος ὧν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς 25  
 βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατη-  
 γίας διαβοηθείσης σύννοους ὀραῖσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ τοὺς πότους  
 παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς  
 ὁρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον 30

His first ap-  
 pearance in  
 public life.  
 Intense  
 rivalry be-  
 tween him  
 and Ari-  
 stides.

μεταβολήν, ὥς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας 4  
 ᾧοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων  
 5 ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει, πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον IV  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχον-  
 10 των Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν Fore-thought of Themistokles. He  
 ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὥς urges conversion of  
 χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἑάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρη- Athens from  
 μάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις a land power  
 ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον. ἦκ- into a naval  
 15 μαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα, power, and  
 καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν application of the fund  
 τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἦι καὶ ῥᾶον Θεμιστο- from the mines of  
 20 κλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν Laurium to  
 γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιοι ὥς ἀφι- the war  
 25 ξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγι- against the  
 νήτας ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρη- Aeginetae. 2  
 σάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις,  
 αἱ καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3  
 25 κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν  
 πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς τὰ περὶ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς  
 ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς  
 30 Ἑλλάδος ἀρχεῖν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλι-  
 τῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους

ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὥς  
 ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν  
 πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπέρειον καὶ κώπην  
 4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. Ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦ-  
 τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὥς ἱστορεῖ  
 Στησίμβροτος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ  
 καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα  
 πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ  
 ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν  
 10 αἱ τριήρεις ἐκείναι, τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς  
 5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου  
 διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὥς  
 οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδῶν εἶναι  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον  
 15 αὐτούς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ  
 General characteristics of  
 Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ  
 φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ  
 τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας·  
 20 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρο-  
 λογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὥς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν  
 ἐδωδύμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵππο-  
 τρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν,  
 ἠπειλήσε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον  
 25 ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας  
 2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκέλους τινὰς ταραξείν. Τῇ δὲ  
 φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος  
 ὦν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθα-  
 ριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ-  
 30

λιπαρήσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος  
 πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἔλθων καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ  
 Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευὴν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν. Ἐκεῖνός μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέφος καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3  
 μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 μήπω γινώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ  
 ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-  
 10 ωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν  
 τραγηδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-  
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης  
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα Ἑμειστο-  
 κλῆς Φρεᾶρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,  
 15 Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4  
 ἐνῆρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα  
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ  
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ὥς που καὶ  
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι  
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὥς  
 οὐτ' ἐκείνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ  
 μέλος, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον  
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-  
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νουν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν  
 25 λαιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν.  
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος  
 κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα  
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.  
 30 Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI



Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ  
 στρατηγοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκ-  
 στήναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπε-  
 πληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον· Ἐπικύδην δὲ  
 τὸν Εὐφρημίδου, δημαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, 5  
 μαλακὸν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἐφλέσθαι καὶ κρατήσῃ ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ  
 χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δεισάντα, μὴ  
 τὰ πράγματα διαφθαρεῖν παντάπασιν τῆς ἡγεμο-  
 νίας εἰς ἐκείνον ἐμπεσοῦσης, χρήμασιν τὴν φιλοτι- 10  
 2 μίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους. Ἐπαι-  
 νεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον ἐν  
 τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος  
 αἰτησιν. ἐρμηνέα γὰρ ὄντα συλλαβῶν διὰ ψη-  
 φίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρ- 15  
 βάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεῖτην· Θεμιστο-  
 κλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους  
 καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ  
 Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέ- 20  
 γιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς  
 πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις  
 πέλσαντα τὰς ἑχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβα-  
 λέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χέλκων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα  
 συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

25

VII Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπεχειρεῖ  
 τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις,  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὥς  
 προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπαντᾶν τῷ  
 βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολ- 30

The Greek  
 fleet at  
 Artemisium.

λῶν ἐξήγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπε μετὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς αὐτόθι προκινδυνεύοντων τῆς  
 Θετταλίας οὕτω τότε μὴδίζεν δοκούσης. ἐπεὶ  
 δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκείθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν  
 5 βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμῆδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας,  
 μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσεῖχον οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν  
 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξιν. Ἐνθα δ' 2  
 τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους  
 10 ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύοντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει  
 τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέ-  
 βαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἑτέροις ἔπεσθαι, συνιδὼν  
 τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρήκε καὶ κατεπράυνε τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 15 ναίους ὑπισχνόμενος, ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται  
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκύντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ  
 λοιπὰ πειθόμενους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ  
 τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ  
 μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς  
 20 ἀνδρεία μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ τῶν  
 συμμάχων περιγενομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς  
 Ἀφetaῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσ-  
 μίξαντος ἐκπλαγείς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης τῶν  
 κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄλλας δὲ  
 25 πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου  
 περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἶσω  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι Πελοποννήσου  
 καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβα-  
 λέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον ἡγούμενος τὴν  
 30 κατὰ θαλάτταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δεισάντες αἱ

Alarm  
 among the  
 fleet. The-  
 mistokles  
 determines  
 them to stay  
 and fight at  
 the urgent  
 instance of  
 the Euboe-  
 ans.

ἐστὶ τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὕπερ ἦν Λυκο-  
 μιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὥς Σι-  
 μωνίδης ἱστόρηκεν.

- II Ἔτι δὲ παῖς ὧν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι 5  
 καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαι-  
<sup>His boyhood.</sup> ρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν  
 γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων  
 γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρραθύμει καθάπερ οἱ  
 λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελε- 10  
 τῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ  
 λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παιδῶν.  
 2 Ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὥς  
 'οὐδὲν ἔση, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως  
 ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν.' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς 15  
 μὲν ἡθοποιούς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευ-  
 θέριον σπουδαζόμενας ὀκηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως  
 ἐξεμάνθανε τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομέ-  
 νων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὥς τῇ φύσει  
 3 πιστεύων. Ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ 20  
 ἀστελαῖς λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πε-  
 παιδεύσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἠναγκάζετο  
 φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι λύραν μὲν  
 ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ  
 ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλα- 25  
 βῶν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι  
 Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θε-  
 μιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι  
 τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος· Περι-  
 γὰρ, ὅς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, 30

Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμί-  
 ους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε. Μᾶλλον οὖν 4  
 ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα  
 τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε  
 5 ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλο-  
 σόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὔσαν  
 δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν,  
 ἐπιτήδευμα πεπονημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ  
 αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ  
 10 ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόν-  
 τες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους  
 σοφιστὰι προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἤδη 5  
 πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις  
 τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος,  
 15 ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου  
 καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας μεγάλας ποιουμένη  
 μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξι-  
 σταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὥς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὡμο-  
 λόγει καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πῶλους ἀρίστους  
 20 ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς προσήκει τύχῳσι  
 παιδείας καὶ καταρτύσεως. Ἄ δὲ τούτων ἕξαρ- 6  
 τῶσιν ἐνιοὶ διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκῆρυξιν  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς  
 ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιλύπου γενο-  
 25 μένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεύσθαι· καὶ τοῦναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ  
 λέγοντες, ὅτι τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν  
 ὁ πατήρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς  
 τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὥς δὴ καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται.  
 30 τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

- III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα  
 καὶ σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὀρμὴ κρατῆ-  
 σαι, δι' ἣν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν  
 ἐφίεμενος ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς 5  
 τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρω-  
 τεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν  
 Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰὲ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ.  
 καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα  
 2 μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν. Ἠράσθησαν γὰρ 10  
 ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κεῖου τὸ γένος  
 ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰστόρηκεν· ἐκ  
 δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στα-  
 σιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν  
 τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. 15  
 πρῶος γὰρ ὧν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρό-  
 πον ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς  
 χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου  
 μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡναγκάζετο τῷ  
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ 20  
 μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολ-  
 3 λάκις ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐξήσιν. Λέ-  
 γεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ  
 πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε  
 νέος ὧν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς 25  
 βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατη-  
 γίας διαβοηθείσης σύννονος ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ τοὺς πότους  
 παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον 30

His first ap-  
 pearance in  
 public life.  
 Intense  
 rivalry be-  
 tween him  
 and Ari-  
 stides.

μεταβολήν, ὥς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας 4  
 ᾧοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων  
 5 ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥσκει, πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον IV  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχον-  
 10 των Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν Fore-thought of Themistokles. He  
 ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὥς urges conversion of  
 χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἑάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρη- a land power from  
 μάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις into a naval  
 ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον. ἦκ- power, and  
 15 μαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα, application of the fund  
 καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν from the mines of  
 τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἦι καὶ ῥᾶον Θεμιστο- Laurium to  
 κλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν the war  
 γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὥς ἀφι- against the  
 20 ξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγι- Aeginetans. 2  
 νήτας ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρη-  
 σάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις,  
 αἱ καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3  
 25 κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν  
 πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς τὰ περὶ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς  
 ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ἀρχεῖν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλι-  
 30 τῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους

ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὥς  
 ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν  
 πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρεσίον καὶ κώπην  
 4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. Ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦ-  
 τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὥς ἱστορεῖ  
 Στησίμβροτος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ  
 καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα  
 πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ  
 ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν  
 10 αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς  
 5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου  
 διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἡτταν, ὥς  
 οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον  
 15 αὐτούς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ  
 General characteristics of Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ  
 φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ  
 τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· 20  
 οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρο-  
 λογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὥς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν  
 ἐδωδίμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵππο-  
 τρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν,  
 ἠπειλήσε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσκειν δούρειον 25  
 ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας  
 2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκέλους τινὰς ταραξείν. Τῇ δὲ  
 φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος  
 ὦν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμίουνης κιθα-  
 30 ριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ- 30.

λιπαρήσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος  
 πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ  
 Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηναὶς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευὴν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς  
 "Ἑλλησιν. Ἐκεῖν' μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέφ' καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3  
 μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 μήπω γινώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ  
 ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-  
 10 ωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν  
 τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-  
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντας, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης  
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Θεμιστο-  
 κλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,  
 15 Ἀδείμαντος ἤρχεν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4  
 ἐνῆρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα  
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ  
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν· ὥς που καὶ  
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι  
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὥς  
 οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ᾄδων παρὰ  
 μέλος, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον  
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-  
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νουν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν  
 25 λαιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκούντα πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν.  
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος  
 κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα  
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.  
 30 Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν νι



Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ  
 χώραν οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἥς ἀπέβαλον.  
 ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος  
 ἔσχε τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς  
 ἀπολιπόντες οἴχωνται. τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρω- 5  
 μένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὁ γὰρ ἔφη· καὶ  
 ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἳ καθάπερ αἱ  
 τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ  
 ἔχετε;

XII Λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα 10

περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος  
 ἄνωθεν τῆς νεῶς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ' Desperate  
stratagem of  
Themistocles  
to make the  
Greeks fight  
in the straits  
of Salamis.  
 ὀφθῆναι διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν  
 νεῶν καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσιν.  
 διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ 15  
 καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχῆσונτες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ὃ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ  
 Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυψεν  
 αἰγιαλούς, αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ  
 στρατοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θύλατταν ἄθρους ὤφθη, 20  
 τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων ἐξερρύσαν οἱ  
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν  
 ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν,  
 εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς  
 νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς 25  
 κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστο-  
 κλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέ-  
 μενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ  
 πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τὸν  
 2 Σίκωννον παραγματείαν. Ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρ- 30

λιπαρήσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος  
 πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ  
 Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηναὶς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευὴν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν. Ἐκεῖνφ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέφ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3  
 μεγάλης ᾧοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ  
 ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-  
 10 ωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν  
 τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-  
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης  
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Ἐμιστο-  
 κλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,  
 15 Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4  
 ἐνῆρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα  
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ  
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν· ὥς που καὶ  
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι  
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὥς  
 οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ  
 μέλος, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον  
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-  
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νουν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν  
 15 λαιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν.  
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος  
 κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα  
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.  
 30 Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI

ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεεν, ὥς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπὴρέσιον καὶ κώπην  
 4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. Ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὥς ἱστορεῖ 5. Στησίμβροτος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ἢ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν 10 αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς 5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὥς οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον 15 αὐτούς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ  
 General characteristics of Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· 20 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὥς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδύμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπειλήσε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον 25 ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας 2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταραξείν. Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος ὦν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ- 30.

λιπαρήσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος  
 πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἔλθων καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ  
 Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηναὶς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέφ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3  
 μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὗχ  
 ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-  
 10 ὤφλισκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν  
 τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-  
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντας, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης  
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Θεμιστο-  
 κλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,  
 15 Ἀδείμαντος ἤρχεν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4  
 ἐνῆρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα  
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ  
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν· ὥς που καὶ  
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι  
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὥς  
 οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθοῦ ᾄδων παρὰ  
 μέλος, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀστείος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον  
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-  
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν  
 25 λαιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν.  
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος  
 κατεστασάσσε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα  
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.  
 30 Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI

κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπὶ  
 3 τὸ ζεύγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν· Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς  
 ἐμποιεῖ τινὰς διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελ- 5  
 λήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκού-  
 σας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο  
 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους  
 καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν,  
 εἷγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως δια- 10  
 γωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων  
 κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII

Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινήτων ἀριστεύσαι  
 φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ  
 ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδο- 15  
 σαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες  
 εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον  
 οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέ-  
 φαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστο-  
 2 κλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν 20  
 καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ  
 σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον ἔδω-  
 ρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς ἄχρι  
 τῶν ὄρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὀλυμπίων 25  
 τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ  
 στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν  
 ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὕλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνον  
 θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένους ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμά-  
 ζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα 30

Honours  
 rendered to  
 Themis-  
 tokles.

πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογήσαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν  
τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ ποιηθέντων.

Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότητος, εἰ δεῖ XV.  
τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομέ-  
νων. αἵρεθεῖς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς  
πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν  
κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλ-  
λετο τὸ προσπίπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ'  
ἣν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων  
10 πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν  
μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ πλείστον δύνασθαι. τῶν  
δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν  
θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ  
στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρήλθε, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ  
15 φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· 'Ἀνελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ  
εἰ Θεμιστοκλῆς.' Πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγο- 2  
νότων, Ἀντιφάτην, ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον  
πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν,  
'ὦ μειράκιον' εἶπεν 'ὄψὲ μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ'  
20 ὁμοῦ νοῦν ἐσχέκαμεν.' ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλα-  
τάνῳ χειμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κινδυνεύον-  
τας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ  
κολοῦειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,  
25 ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν·  
'Ἀληθὴ λέγεις' εἶπεν 'ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερ-  
φίος ὦν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος.'  
'Ἐτέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι χρή- 3  
σιμον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου πρὸς  
30 τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου

His ambition  
shown by  
notable say-  
ings.

πράξεσιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι, λέγουσαν ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχω-  
 λίων τε μεστή καὶ κοπῶδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δ' ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν 'Ἀληθῆ 5  
 λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα·'  
 'κάμοῦ τοῖνυν' ἔφη 'τότε μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν  
 4 ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;' Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλησιν 10  
 ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίους δ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον. ἴδιος δὲ τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν 15  
 ἐπιεικῇ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός.  
 ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.

XIX Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθύς  
 ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ 20  
 τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὡς δ' οἱ πλείστοι, παρακρου-  
 σάμενος. ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην 25  
 ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος· ἐγκα-  
 λούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἡρνείτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέ-  
 λευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, 30

Themistokles rebuilds the city. His stratagem to procure for the Athenians the opportunity of fortifying it.

ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους  
 ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη  
 γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς  
 οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλε-  
 5 παίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν 2

Enlargement  
 and fortifica-  
 tion of the  
 harbour of  
 Peiræus.

Πειραιᾷ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυῖαν  
 κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀρμοστούμενος  
 πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαι-  
 οῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος.  
 10 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι  
 τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνε-  
 θίσαι ξὴν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύον-  
 τας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδωσαν λόγον, ὡς  
 ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνα δέξασα  
 15 τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' 3  
 οὐχ, ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικός φησι, τῇ πό-  
 λει τὸν Πειραιᾷ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης·  
 ὅθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἡὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ  
 20 θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ  
 κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ  
 βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί πεπονημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν  
 πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς  
 τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ  
 25 θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλι-  
 γαρχίᾳ δ' ἥττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς ναυτι- XX  
 κῆς διενόηθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατήρεν εἰς Πα-  
 30 γασὰς καὶ διεχεύμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθη-



ναίοις ἔφη τινὰ πράξιν ἔχειν ὠφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς  
Hellenic  
policy of The-  
mistokles  
and further  
ambitious  
projects of  
his for the  
naval  
aggrandise-  
ment of  
Athens. καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδη  
μόνῳ φράσαι κελευόντων, κὰν ἐκείνος  
δοκιμάσῃ περαίνειν, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς 5  
ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ νεώριον ἐμ-  
πρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ'  
Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον προελθὼν ἔφη τῆς  
πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς,  
μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικω- 1  
τέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι  
2 τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμ-  
φικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσ-  
ηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας  
αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, 1  
φοβηθεὶς μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους ἔτι δὲ  
Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς  
ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν  
ἐκείνοις, συνέειπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς  
γνώμας τῶν Πυλαγόρων, διδάξας ὡς τριάκοντα 2  
καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ  
πολέμου καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραί·  
δεινὸν οὖν εἶ, τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου  
γενομένης, ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ  
πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν 3  
μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ  
καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον  
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθὴς περιπλέων  
τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἶα :

καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν  
 Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. Δύο Themis-  
tokles levies  
fines on the  
insular and  
other allies  
of Athens.  
Bitter lamp-  
oon on him  
by the poet  
Timocreon  
of Rhodes.  
 γὰρ ἦκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθῶ 2  
 καὶ Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'  
 5 αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ  
 Ἀπορίαν, ὅφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρή-  
 ματα ἐκείνῳ. Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος  
 μελοποιὸς ἐν ᾧσματι καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ὥς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ χρήμασι φυγά-  
 10 δας διαπραξαμένου κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον ὄντα  
 καὶ φίλον προεμένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ'  
 οὕτως·

ἀλλ' εἰ τύγε Πausanίαν ἦ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιππον αἰνέεις  
[ἀντ.]

15 ἦ τύγε Λευτιχίδα, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδα ἐπαινέω  
 ἄνδρ' ἱερῶν ὅπ' Ἀθανᾶν  
 ἐλθεῖν ἓνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆ' ἤχθαρε Λατώ, στρ.  
 ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὅς Τιμοκρέοντα ξείνον ἐόντα  
[ἐπ.]

20 ἀργυρίοισι κυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεῖς οὐ κατάγαγ' εἰς πατρίδ'  
 Ἰάλυσον,  
 λαβὼν δὲ τρί' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,  
[ἀντ.]

τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ  
 25 καίνων  
 ἀργυρίων ὑπὲρπλεως. Ἴσθμοι δὲ πανδόκευε γλοιῶς ψυχρὰ  
 κρέα παρέχων·  
 οἱ δ' ἥσθιον κηϋχοντο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλέους γενέσθαι.

Πολὺ δ' ἀσελγαστέρα καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη μάλλον 3  
 30 εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα κέχρηται βλασφημία μετὰ

τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων,  
ἄσμα ποιήσας οὐ ἔστιν ἀρχή·

Μούσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος  
κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλαντας τίθει,  
ὡς εἰκότος καὶ δίκαιον.

5

λέγεται δ' ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν συγκαταψηφισα-  
μένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίξειν, ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μῶνος  
Μήδοισιν ὠρκιατόμει,  
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ καλλοὶ δὴ πονηροί·  
κούκ ἐγὼ μόνα κόλουρις·  
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώπεκες.

10

XXII Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν ἡδέως  
τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγκάζετο 15  
λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολ-  
λάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων, καὶ πρὸς  
τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας 'Τί κοπιᾶτε' εἰπεῖν  
'ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὐ πάσχον-  
τες;' ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέ- 20  
μιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἣν Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσ-  
ηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι  
βουλευσάμενος, πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκευά-  
σεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ ἱερὸν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν  
θανατουμένων οἱ δῆμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ 25  
ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχνομένων καὶ  
καθαίρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσιν. Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ  
Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναφῇ τῆς Ἀριστο-  
βούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμῶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν

Growing  
jealousy  
of Themis-  
tokles, with  
suspicions of  
his treason-  
able inclina-  
tion toward  
the Persians.

ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν <sup>His ostracism.</sup> ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων οὓς ὦντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην 10 τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποσπένοντος.

Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρί- XX  
βοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ περὶ Πausanίαν  
συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς  
ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος  
15 αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεωβώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλ-  
κμέωνος Ἀγρυλλῆθεν, ἅμα συνεπαίτιω-  
μένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. Ὁ γὰρ Pausa-  
νίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν  
πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,  
20 καίπερ ὄντα φίλον· ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς  
πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς, ἐθάρσεν ἐπὶ  
τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμ-  
ματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παρο-  
ξύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρί-  
25 στοὺς. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Pau-  
σανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς  
οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε  
τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν αὐτόν, εἴτ'  
ἄλλως καταφανῇ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ  
30 πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.

While in  
banishment,  
the Lace-  
daemonians  
and others  
prefer a  
formal  
charge of  
treason  
against him.

2

3 Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Πανσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ  
 τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς  
 ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατε-  
 βόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγοροῦν δ' οἱ  
 φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος ἀλλὰ διὰ 5  
 γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα ταῖς προτέ-  
 ραις κατηγορίαις· διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ  
 ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκῶς μηδὲ βουλόμενος,  
 οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίους ἀπο- 10  
 δόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμ-  
 πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν  
 ἄνδρας, οἷς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν  
 αὐτὸν κριθισόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

XXIV Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκείνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διε- 15

Flight and  
 adventures of  
 Themis-  
 tokles.

πέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
 εὐεργεσίας. γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς  
 πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε  
 τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους  
 καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων 20  
 2 ἄποικον. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἡπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διω-  
 κόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ  
 ἀπόρους καταφυγὼν πρὸς Ἀδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς  
 μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεθηεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων 25  
 καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ'  
 ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ  
 καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγ-  
 γενῇ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾷς καὶ 30

βασιλικῆς, ταύτη φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἰκέτης  
 τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγ-  
 μένον τρόπον. ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα  
 5 παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγί-  
 στην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων  
 ἱκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. Ἕνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν 3  
 τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι  
 τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καθίσει μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ'  
 10 αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιο πρὸς τοὺς  
 διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν  
 ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγωδῆσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν.  
 ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας  
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστει-  
 15 λεν· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανά-  
 τωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Σησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ οἶδ'  
 ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα  
 ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαι φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν  
 καὶ παρ' Ἰέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγα-  
 20 τέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνόμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψαμένου δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἰέρωνος οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπᾶραι.

Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεό- XXV  
 φραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας  
 25 ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, πέμψαντος εἰς <sup>Themis-</sup>  
 Ὀλυμπίαν Ἰέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς <sup>tokles gets</sup>  
 καὶ σκηνὴν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς <sup>over to Asia.</sup>  
 στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι λόγον, ὡς χρή  
 τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλύσαι  
 30 τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης δὲ καὶ

πλεῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν καταβάντα  
 θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη  
 τῶν πλεόντων, μέχρι οὐ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς  
 Νάξον καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκου-  
 μένην τότε φοβηθεῖς ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε 5  
 2 ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος,  
 τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ  
 καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι 10  
 καὶ λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ  
 πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς  
 Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανερῶν γενομένων καὶ  
 συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν  
 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι 15  
 γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια ταλάντων  
 κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ὑπτεσθαι τῆς  
 πολιτείας.

XXVI Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς  
 ἦσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττον- 20  
 τας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ  
 Ἐργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἦν γὰρ ἡ θήρα  
 λυσιτελὴς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ πάντῶς  
 ἀγαπῶσι, διακοσίῳ ἐπικεκηρυγμένων  
 αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς 25  
 Αἰγᾶς, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνο-  
 ούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων  
 πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς  
 γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε. παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέ-  
 ρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ 30

He goes to  
 Cyme and  
 thence to  
 Aegae to  
 Nikogenes:  
 and ulti-  
 mately seeks  
 refuge with  
 the king of  
 Persia.

θυσίας τινὸς Ὀλβιος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους  
παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος  
ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ ταυτί

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδον.

- 5 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεῖς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄναρ 2  
ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ  
περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχήλῳ  
γενόμενον δ' αἰτόν, ὡς ἤψατο τοῦ προσώπου,  
περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἐξῆραι καὶ κομίζειν  
10 πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς κηρυκείου φανέν-  
τος, ἐπὶ τούτου στήσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου  
δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα. πέμπεται  
δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανησαμένου τι  
τοιόνδε. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ  
15 μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ  
τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν·  
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρω- 3  
νήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάτ-  
τουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὀρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ'  
20 οἱκοὶ μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηναῖς κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμέ-  
νας ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῷ  
Θεμιστοκλεῖ κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδύς  
ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι  
25 καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλλη-  
νικὸν ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ  
θύραις βασιλέως.

Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς xxvi.  
ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ



τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν· Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Ψουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' 5 αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συντεταγμένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῃ

Henegociates  
with one of  
the royal of-  
ficers about  
an audience  
with his Ma-  
jesty.

τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, λέγων· Ἕλληνας μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ 10 πρὸς ἃ τυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. Ὁ δὲ φησιν· ὦ ξένη, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ἴλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλὰ· καλὸν δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεία κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητά λόγους· ἡμῶν δὲ 15 πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, 20 ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνήσαντος· ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφύγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε πεί- 25 σομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῶ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν. Ὡστε τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς 3 ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν. Ἔτινα δ' εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος 30

‘Ἑλλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ιδιώτῃ τὴν  
 γνώμην ἔοικας.’ καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ‘Τοῦτ’ οὐκέτ’  
 ἀν’ ἔφη· ‘πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρότερος βασι-  
 λέως.’ οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ‘Ὁ δ’ Ἐρατο-  
 5 σθένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ  
 γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θε-  
 μιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ  
 σύστασιν.

Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν εἰσῆχθη πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ προσ- ΧΧ  
 10 κυνήσας ἔσθη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος τῷ  
 ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστι, His interview  
 with the  
 King.  
 καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν·  
 ‘Ἦκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος  
 ἐγὼ φυγὰς ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν  
 15 ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακὰ, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι  
 τὴν δῶξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενη-  
 μένης παρέσχε τὰ οἰκεία σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι τι  
 καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς  
 παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστι, καὶ παρσκευασμένος  
 20 ἀφύγμαι δέξασθαι τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττο-  
 μένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησικακοῦντος ὀργῇ· σὺ 2  
 δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐερ-  
 γέτησα Πέρσας νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις  
 πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν  
 25 ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἰκέτην σόν, ἀπολείς δ’  
 ‘Ἑλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον.’ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ὁ  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν  
 ὄψιν, ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ  
 Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὁμῶνυμον  
 30 τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀνα-

πέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι τε καὶ  
 3 λέγεσθαι βασιλέας. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Πέρσης ἐκείνῳ  
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καί περ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα  
 καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
 φίλους ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευ- 5  
 ξάμενος αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι  
 τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ  
 ἑαυτῶν, θύσαι τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν  
 εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων  
 τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς· Ἐχὼ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν 10  
 Ἀθηναῖον.

CXIX

Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσήγεν  
 αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν  
 ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἐγγύς, ὡς ἐπύθοντο  
 τοῦνομα παριόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς δια- 15  
 κειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ῥωξάνης  
 ὁ χιλιάρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 προσιών, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν· Ὅφισ' Ἕλλην  
 ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἤγαγεν· 20  
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν  
 προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φι-  
 λοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἥδη μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ δια-  
 κόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειν· κομίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι. 25  
 πολλῶ δὲ πλείῳ τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρε-  
 θάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν  
 2 ἂ βούλοιο παρρησιαζόμενον. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον εἰσφέρειν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς  
 ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τούτον 30

Influence  
 which he ac-  
 quires with  
 the King.

ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἶδη, συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ', ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτή-  
 5 σάμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε βασιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 10 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ 3 ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κунηγесίων βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν,  
 15 ὥστε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν καὶ γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι <sup>Signal proof of this influence.</sup> δωρεὰν κελευσθεὶς ᾗτήσατο τὴν κίταριν,  
 20 ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαιρόμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν ἀνεψιὸς ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας ἀψάμενος Ἀὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔσῃ Ζεὺς, ἂν λάβῃς κεραυνόν.' Ἀπωσα- 4  
 25 μένου δὲ τὸν Δημάρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς  
 30 ἀνεκράθησαν, ὅσάκις δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνων,

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν πρὸς ἕκαστον, ὡς  
 μείζων ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν  
 δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ  
 θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρῶς ποτε τρα-  
 πέξης παρατεθείσης πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν· <sup>5</sup> *“ὦ*  
*παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.”* πόλεις  
 δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς  
 ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψα-  
 κον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθουσιν ὁ  
 Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ <sup>10</sup>  
 Παλαισκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX Καταβαίνοντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς  
 πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνὴρ  
<sup>His narrow escape from danger during his travels.</sup> Ἐπιξύης ὄνομα, σατραπέων τῆς ἄνω  
 Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευακὼς ἕκ- <sup>15</sup>  
 παλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν  
 ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ Λεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος  
 καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι μεσημ-  
 βρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ φανείσαν εἰπεῖν·  
*“ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λεόντων, μὴ* <sup>20</sup>  
*λέοντι περιπέσης. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αἰτῶ*  
*θεράπαιναν Μνησιπτολέμαν.”* διαταραχθεὶς οὖν  
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῇ τὴν μὲν  
 λεωφόρον ἀφήκεν, ἑτέρα δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλ-  
 λάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατην- <sup>25</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> λίσατο. Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑπο-  
 ζυγίων ἑνὸς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβρόχους  
 γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον· οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι  
 τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ <sup>30</sup>

ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήμην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες  
 φήθησαν εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κα-  
 κείνον ἔνδον εὐρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὥς δ' ἐγγυὺς  
 γενόμενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσι  
 5 αὐτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι.  
 διαφυγῶν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν  
 ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγ-  
 νησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησιπτολέ-  
 μαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

10 Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχαλὴν ἄγων XX  
 ἐθεᾶτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ Themistokles  
at Sardis.  
 τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶδε δὲ καὶ  
 ἐν Μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὕδροφόρον κόρην  
 χαλκὴν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθή-  
 15 νησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρου-  
 μένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παραχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ  
 τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἴτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς  
 τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθήματος εἴτε βουλόμενος  
 ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσῃν ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ  
 20 δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ  
 Ἀνδρίας σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν, αἰτούμενος ἀπο-  
 στείλαι τὴν κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Χαλεπαί- 2  
 μοντας δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φή-  
 σαντος ἐπισταλὴν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς  
 25 τὴν γυναικωνίτιν κατέφυγε, καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας  
 αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκείνόν τε κατεπράυνε  
 τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτοῦ  
 εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων  
 δεδαικώς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς  
 30 φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν,

καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος  
 ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον  
 ἀδεῶς διήγεν, οὐ πᾶν τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι  
 βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς  
 3 <sup>His death by  
suicide.</sup> ἄνω πράξεις. Ὡς δ' Αἰγυπτὸς τε ἀφι- 5  
 σταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριή-  
 ρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀνα-  
 πλέουσai καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν  
 αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ κωλύειν  
 αὐξανόμενους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκι- 10  
 νοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέβαινον  
 ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξά-  
 πτεσθαι κελεύοντος βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιῶν τὰς  
 ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι' ὀργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ  
 τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ 15  
 δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ'  
 4 ἐφικτὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχούσης στρατηγούς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος  
 ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ  
 πλείστον αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν 20  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκεῖνων, ἄριστα βου-  
 λευσάμενος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευταίην πρέ-  
 πουσαν ἔθυσσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συνα-  
 γαγῶν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ὥς μὲν ὁ πολλὸς λόγος,  
 αἷμα ταύρειον πιὼν, ὥς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον 25  
 προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε  
 πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλείστα  
 τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν  
 τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα λέ-  
 γουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῖς 30

φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκέλοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν φι-  
λανθρώπως.

- Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ μὲν Ἄρ- XX  
 χίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν  
 5 Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Κλεό- The posterity  
of Themis-  
tokles.  
 φαντον, οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς  
 ἱππέως ἀρίστου, τᾶλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου  
 μνημονεύει. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν  
 ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα  
 10 δὲ Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποίησατο. θυγατέρας  
 δὲ πλείους ἔσχεν, ὧν Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολιν ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
 οὐκ ἂν ὁμομήτριος ἔγνημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης  
 ὁ Χίος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. Νι-  
 15 κομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστοκλέ-  
 ουσ, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας εἰς Μαγ-  
 νησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην δὲ  
 πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε. Καὶ 2  
 τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Sepulchral  
monument  
raised to him  
in the  
market-place  
of Magnesia.  
 20 Μάγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων  
 οὗτ' Ἀνδοκίδῃ προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ  
 Πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους λέγουσι, φωράσαντας τὰ λεί-  
 ψανα διαρρῖψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ  
 ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρ- Treatment of  
his remains.  
 25 χικοῦς), ἃ τε λέγων Φύλαρχος, ὥσπερ  
 ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονοῦ μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ  
 προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ Δημόπολιν, υἱοὺς  
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος,  
 οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοήσειεν ὅτι πέπλασταί. Διό- 3  
 30 δωρος δ' ὁ περιγηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων



εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ  
 τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκών,  
 καὶ κάμψαντι ταῦτον ἐντός, ἢ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς  
 θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ 5  
 βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἶεται δὲ  
 καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τού-  
 τοις·

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος  
 τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,  
 τοὺς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὀψεται,  
 χῳπόταν ἄμιλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν, θεάσεται.

10

4 Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαί

Honours paid  
 to his de-  
 scendants.

τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ἃς ἐκαρπαῦτο 15  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ  
 φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.

*NOTES*

ON PLUTARCH'S  
LIFE OF THEMISTOKLÊS.



# PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES

## CHAPTER I

1 § 1. 1. Θημιστοκλῆς δὲ] the δὲ has no corresponding μέν, which shews that the beginning is incomplete: there was probably a short introduction to the pair of biographies, Themistokles and Camillus, such as we find in most of the biographies e.g. that of Agis, which has been lost. τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους] a circumlocution for the simple γένος, 'the advantages of birth.' The μὲν brings forward the first of the points to be handled in opposition to those which follow: it is answered by μέντοι, l. 8. ἀμεινότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε, 'were, to begin with, too obscure for distinction,' so Alcib. l. τῆς Σωκράτους φιλίας οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπέλευσεν. For ἀμεινός cf. Hesiod opp. 282 τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμεινότερῃ γενεῇ μετόπισθε λείπεται, Eur. Androm. 204 αὐτῇ τ' ἀμεινὰ καὶ τύραννος ἦν Φρυγῶν.

2. πατὴρ δ' ἦν] G. § 167, 1.

3. οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, sc. ὅσους, 'not one of the highly distinguished,' partitive or genitive of the divided whole, G. § 168, § 169, 1. Cf. Herod. viii 125 Τιμόδημος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, Thuc. ii. 43 ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος. So in Plutarch's comparison (σύγκρισις) between Aristides and Cato c. 1, Themistokles is stated to be οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρὸς, although he was allied to the noble family of the Lykomidae, whereas, on the other hand, Nepos says in his life of him (c. 2) *pater eius Neocles generosus fuit*.

4. 'Αθήνησι] G. § 61 n. 2. Cf. § 3 l. 1 Φλυγῖσι.  
 Φρεαρρίου, 'of the deme Φρέαρροι,' so called after Phrearrus, who was, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, 'Αθήνησιν ἐπίσημος ἦρως. τῶν δῆμων] G. § 168, the partitive genitive instead of the accusative of reference. Cf. Perikl. 3, 1 Περικλῆς ἦρ τῶν μὲν φυλῶν 'Ακαμαντίδης τῶν δὲ δῆμων Χολαργεύς. Λεοντίδος] the phyle Leontis was so named after another ἦρως ἐπώνυμος, viz. Λεώς.

After the reforms of Kleisthenes the population of Attica was divided into ten local tribes.(φυλαὶ τοπικαὶ) each called after some popular hero. Their names were Eretheis (Erectheus), Aegeis (Aegeus), Pandionis (Pandion), Leontis (Leos), Akamantis (Akamas), Oeneis (Oeneus), Kekropis (Kekrops), Hippothoontis (Hippothoon), Aeanthis (Aias), Antiochis (Antiochus). A member of the phyle was called 'Ερεχθεΐδης, Αἰγεΐδης, Λεοντίδης, Πανδιονίδης, &c. These φυλαὶ were sub-divided into 174 δῆμοι or parishes, each possessing its principal town. The names of the different demes were taken either from the chief towns in them, as Marathon, Oenoe, Brauron, Eleusis, Bhamnus, Dekelea, Peiraeus &c., or from the names of the principal houses or clans in them, as the Daedalidae, Butadae, Thumostadae, Skambonidae etc. The largest of the demes was Acharnae, which belonged to the tribe Oeneis, below c. 24 § 3, Thuc. II. 191. The ten tribes were blended with the whole machinery of the constitution; 50 of the Senate of 500 were chosen from each of them; and the same principle of election ran through the chief offices of state. Each demos formed an independent corporation and had its own peculiar worship, its several magistrates, landed and other property, and held periodical meetings (ἀγοραί) for the transaction of its public business, the election of officers and the revision of its register of enrolment (ἀγχιμαρτικὸν γραμματεῖον). Admission into a δῆμος was necessary before any individual could enter upon his full rights and privileges as a citizen.

5. νόθος πρὸς μητρὸς, 'illegitimate on his mother's side,' 'a half-alien,' )( γνήσιος.

'Athenian citizenship depended essentially on being born in lawful wedlock, of parents who were themselves both citizens. The offspring of a citizen and a foreign woman were, in the eye of the law, illegitimate (νόθοι). Solon deprived them of all the iura agnationis (ἀγχιμαρτεία). Perikles, as far as we know, first exacted citizenship on the mother's side also (Plutarch Perikl. c. 37 § 2, Aelian var. hist. VI 10); but his law, if not actually repealed, must have become obsolete in the course of the Peloponnesian war; for, when Aristophanes revived it in

the archonship of Euclides, he expressly excepted from its operation all born up to that time of women who were not citizens; so that it was only from that time that the citizenship of both parents became legally essential.' C. F. Hermann *Pol. antiq. of Greece* § 118.

ὡς λέγουσιν] according to the well-known inscription, which we must suppose was written under her statue or bust.

9. Ἀβρότονον, sc. εἰμ. For the form of the name cf. Γλυκερίον, Δελφίον, Λοιάδιον, Νάνιον, Φιλημάτιον, Χρυσίον, and other similar names of female slaves and εἰταίραι. γένος] G. § 160, 1.

Θρηῖσσα] a dialectic form of Θρήσσα or Θρήτρα 'a Thracian woman,' fem. of Θρήξ. τεκένθαι φημι] G. § 136 note 3.

§ 2. 9. Καρίην, a native of Caria. δρομα] G. § 160, 1.

10. ἀναγράφα, 'records.' Νεάνθη] Neanthēs of Kyzikum lived about B.C. 241; he was a disciple of Philiscus of Miletus, who was himself a pupil of Isocrates. The various writers who quote him seem to rely upon his judgment and accuracy, as Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, and several of the early Christian writers. He wrote *Memoirs of king Attalus*, *Hellenika*, *Lives of illustrious men*, *Pythagorika*, *Annals*. καὶ πόλιν, 'a city also' (as well as a province), viz. Halikarnassus.

11. προστιθέναι τινί τι, *quid de quo dicere*, 'to attribute anything to anybody.' διό—ἐπειθε, 'for which reason (διό= διὰ δ, because he was a φίλος πρὸς μητρὸς) he used persuasion with some' etc.

12. Κυνόσαργες] the three most famous and the oldest gymnasia at Athens were the Akademia, situated about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile from the city on the road to Kolonus; the Lykeum on the banks of the Kephissus E. of the city, and the Kynosarges, not far from the Lykeum, in a north-east suburb of the city, which, as we are here told, was frequented by strangers and Athenians of half-blood. Here was a temple of Heraklés, who was a half-god, being the son of a mortal mother (διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν), and so the natural patron of the base-born or illegitimate (Aristoph. *Av.* v. 1650). The name Kynosarges (κύων, ἀργός) is said to have been derived

from a 'white dog,' which snatched a part of a victim which Diōmus was sacrificing to Herakles, whereupon Diomus was told by an oracle to build a temple to the object of his sacrifice in the exact spot where τὸ λερεῖον ἀπέθετο ὁ κύων. συντελούντων εἰς, 'belonging to,' literally 'contributing to.' Cf. Plutarch amator. 4, 9, p. 751 ἁ θῆλυν καὶ νόθον Ἐρωτα ὥσπερ εἰς Κυρόσαργες συντελοῦντα, Demosth. c. Aristokr. § 213 p. 692 εἰς τοὺς νόθους ἐκεῖ συντελεῖ καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐνθάδε εἰς Κυρόσαργες οἱ νόθοι.

14. κἀκείνος = καὶ ἐκεῖνος, so. Heraklēs. ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ] 'was subject to the imputation of bastardy,' cf. Isokr. de pac. p. 160 β μὴ ἡμεῖς ἐνοχοὶ γενώμεθα ταύταις τοῖς ἀνοίαις, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 185 τὸν τοῖς αἰσχίστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐνοχον.

15. μητέρα i.e. Alkmene.

16. εὐ γεγονότων i.q. γνησίων. Arist. 27, 4.

17. καταβαίνοντας] because it was in a suburb of Athens. ἀλείφεσθαι, 'to anoint themselves,' for gymnastic exercises, hence 'to practise,' 'to undergo a training' in gymnastics, Thucyd. I. 6 λίπα μετὰ τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείψαντο. Hence ἀλείπτης is used for a 'trainer and teacher of gymnastics,' and generally for 'a teacher,' as in Perikl. iv. 2. See on 3, 4 l. 6.

§ 3. 18. πανούργως, 'cleverly,' 'ingeniously.'

19. διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν, 'did away with the line of demarcation.'

20. μέντοι, 'for all that,' i.e. in spite of his νοθεία. Ἀνκομιδῶν, an old priestly family, who had to chant hymns at the Eleusinian mysteries. γένους] G. § 170, 2. δῆλός ἐστι—δτι, 'he has shown that,' a common form of attraction for δῆλόν ἐστιν δτι, cf. 24, 2.

2. 1. Φλυῆσι, at Phlya, a deme of the Κεκροπίς φύλη, 15, 2. On the form of the word see n. to § 1 l. 4. τελεστήριον, the chapel for initiating (τελεῖν) novices at the Eleusinian mysteries, Perikl. 13, 3.

2. τῶν βαρβάρων, the Persians during their invasion B. C. 490.

8. αὐτὸς ἐπ-εσκεύασε, 'restored, repaired at his own expense, and embellished with paintings.'

4. ἱστορήκεν, 'has narrated,' perhaps in some inscription, as the expression is more suitable to an historical notice than to a lyric poet. The verb ἱστορεῖν is very commonly used by Plutarch in this sense of *memoriae prodere*, but never so in earlier Greek, where it means 'to enquire,' 'to learn by enquiry.' Cf. 7, 3; 19, 1; 24, 3; 25, 1; 27, 1.

## CHAPTER II

§ 1. 5. φορᾶς, *incitationis, propensae voluntatis*, 'vehement impulse' (φέρομαι).

The word is used in this sense only in later Greek. Cf. Maxim. Tyr. 11, 6 ὁργὴ καὶ φορὰ καὶ ἀλογοὶ ἔξεις, Dio Cass. 78, 38 θεῖα τιμὴ φορᾶ, 79, 15 κουφὴ τινὶ φορᾶ, Polyb. Hist. 30, 2, 4 μετεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀτταλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς.

6. τῇ φύσει] 'in his natural disposition,' 'naturally,' G. § 188, note 1. τῇ προαιρέσει] 'his bias,' 'inclination,' which was for questions of statesmanship and important matters, as was evident from his manner of spending his leisure hours.

7. ἐν ταῖς ἀνάσει, 'in his hours of relaxation.' Plat. de legg. iv c. 12 p. 724 Δ σπουδῆς τε περὶ καὶ ἀνάσεως, Polyb. i 66, 10 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τετευχότες ἀνάσεως καὶ σχολῆς. On the use of abstract substantives in plural, where several instances are implied see my n. to Cic. de off. i § 78 l. 3.

8. ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος, 'as often as he had done with his lessons.' Blass is wrong in joining σχολαῖς with ἀπο τῶν μαθημάτων 'rest from his studies.' He might quote in justification Plat. Phaed. p. 66 D c. xi ἐάν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σο. τῆς φιλοσοφίας, but see below c. 19 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων.

9. οὐδ' ἔρραθύμει, neque otiosus erat, 'nor did he idle away his time (Polyb. x 20, 2 τῇ δ' ἐξῆς (ἐκέλευσεν) ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ βαθυμεῖν), but he would be found rehearsing and composing some speeches by (to) himself.' For συντάττεσθαι cf. Plato Phaedr. c. 46 p. 264 π πρὸς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος



πάντα τὸν ὕστερον λόγον διεπεράνατο, Polyb. Hist. i. 3, 8 συνετάξασθαι ταύτην τὴν βύβλον, III 1, 2 συνεταξάμεθα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βιβλους.

12. κατηγορία κτλ, 'an attack on, or defence of, some of his school-fellows.'

§ 2. 13. ὅθεν, unde, 'from which circumstance' 'for which reason.' Cf. below § 3 l. 20. ὡς] ὡς, like ὅτι in classical (see e. g. Xen. Anab. i 6, 8, Plat. Apol. c. 28), is in later Greek prefixed to a direct quotation, Madvig Gr. Synt. § 192 a.

14. μικρὸν, 'petty.' πάντως, strongly affirmative, profecto, 'most assuredly.'

15. ἐπεὶ καὶ] introducing a further proof in confirmation of the previous statement. τῶν παιδεύσεων i. q. παιδευμάτων, 'his subjects of instruction:' the usual meaning of the word is 'process of instruction.' τὰς ἡθοποιούς κτλ, 'such as form the character or are pursued with a view to some refined pleasure and amusement.' μουσικὴ chiefly is meant, 4, 5.

16. ἀνυπόβριον (which belongs to both the substantives ἡδονήν and χάριν) means *ingenuum, liberalem*, 'fit for a free man,' 'liberal.'

18. τῶν δὲ εἰς συνέσιν... ὑπεροπῶν, 'he did not disguise his contempt for anything that was said referring to (the improvement of) the understanding or practical life, (as being too easy a lesson for him), since he trusted to his natural ability (to enable him to understand).' ὑπεροπῶν is usually followed by the accusative, but it is found with the gen. in Xenophon and Plato. See critical appendix on Madvig's reading, ὑπερεροπῶν.

19. παρ' ἡλικίαν, 'beyond his age' i. e. more than was natural at his years. Cf. Romul. c. 25 ἀφρόνως καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπειρως τοῖς πράγμασι κεκρήσθαι, Fab. Max. c. 12 εὐρώστως παρ' ἡλικίαν (de sene), Mar. c. 45 μέθας ἀώρων καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν.

§ 3. 20. ὅθεν] 'in consequence of which' referring to the former clause of the preceding sentence: i. e. because he did not learn μουσικὴ etc. in the usual way. ἐν ταῖς

ἐπιτροφαῖς—διατριβαῖς] 'in well-mannered and refined society.'

διατριβαὶ are *loci et congressus multorum et elegantium hominum*, as in Aesch. c. Timarch. § 133 *ὡς ἐν παλαιστραῖς καὶ διατριβαῖς γιγνόμεναι*, which Reiske translates *comme en hommes qui saït son monde*; § 159 p. 23, 2 *μὴ καταλιπὼν τὴν εἰλον συμμορίαν αὐτομολήσης εἰς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθέρων διατριβὰς*, de fals. leg. § 23 p. 31 18 *διατριβαὶ καὶ συνθήκαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθέροις*, ib. § 149 p. 48, 4 *οὐκ ἀγενεῖς διατριβὰς ἔχων ἄλλ' ἐν γυμνασίοις διατρίβων*, c. Timarch. § 53 p. 8, 21 *οὐκ ἐνουθέτησεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ βελτιόνων διατριβῶν ἤψατο*. Διατριβή is properly 'a wearing away,' esp. 'a way of spending time,' 'occupation,' hence either 'entertainment,' 'pastime,' or 'serious employment.' See below c. 29 § 3, and cf. Num. c. 4 p. 61 *ἢ ἐκλιπὼν τὰς ἐν ἀστει διατριβὰς*, Dem. Erotic. § 56 p. 1418, 1 *μὴ τὰς ἐπιπολαίους ἡδονὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἀγαπᾷν*, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 12 *οὐκ ἀφανεῖς διατριβὰς διατρίβω ἄλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεθ' ὑμῶν ὀρᾶμαι*, Polyb. Hist. 10, 19, 5 *ἡδίστας τοῖς νείοις ἀπολαύσεις καὶ διατριβὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρέχει*, Perikl. c. 16 *ὡς (ὁ πατὴρ) πλοῦτος) μὴτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐνέφθοι μῆτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολουμένην παρέχοι*, where, however, it rather signifies 'loss of time,' cf. 19, 1. In Alkib. c. 24 p. 204 C (*παραδείσων*) *διατριβὰς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφυγὰς ἡσχημένους βασιλικῶς* it may mean 'haunts,' 'places of diversion,' 'lounges,' as also in Plato Euthyphro c. 1 p. 2 A *ταῖς ἐν Δουκίῳ καταλιπὼν διατριβὰς*; cf. Plut. de adul. et am. c. 19 p. 61 A *καταλιπούσα διατριβὰς εὐδαιμόνας*.

21. *ὅπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευθῆαι δοκούντων*. There is a certain degree of irony implied in *λεγόμεναις*, as also in *δοκούντων*, which may mean either 'fancied themselves' or 'were reputed to be,' 'passed as.'

23. *φορτικώτερον*, ) (*ἐλευθερίως*, 'somewhat coarsely,' 'in vulgar style,' like an uneducated man. The word *φορτικός* is properly 'burdensome' (*φέρω*, *φόρτος*), hence 'tiresome,' from which meaning it passes into that of 'low,' 'wanting in liberal manners.' *ἀμύνεσθαι*, 'to retort.' *λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι*, 'to tune a lyre or play on (lit. 'manage' 'handle') a harp.' *ψαλτήριον*, although not properly identical with the *κιθάρα*, is here used for that instrument. The story recurs in Cim. c. ix, where Ion of Chios is praised by his fellow-banqueters as being *δεξιώτερος θεμιστοκλέους*: *ἐκείνων γὰρ ᾄδειν γὰρ οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πῶδιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι*.

25. *ἐπίσταντο*] Sintonis has *ἐπίσταται*. See G. § 243. *μικρὸν καὶ ἄδοξον* are predicate adjectives to *παραλαβὼν*. G. § 138 B.

26. ἀπεργάσασθαι, *reddere, efficere*, so Xen. Oekon. xiv 6 πειρώμαι δικαίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας, Plat. de rep. ii c. 20 p. 381 π ἵνα μὴ...τοὺς παῖδας ἀπεργάζωνται δειλοτέρους.

27. Στησίμβροτος] Stesimbrotus of Thasos was one of the Ionic prose writers and a sophist contemporary with Ion. He is frequently quoted as an authority for gossiping anecdotes by Plutarch, who ranks him with the comic poets in his savage attacks on Pericles. A work of his on the mysteries (τελετῶν) is quoted in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. He also wrote about Homer. See note on iv 4.

Ἀναξαγόρου] Anaxagoras, one of the early Greek physical philosophers, was born at Clazomenae in Ionia in Ol. 70, 1 = B.C. 500 and came to Athens in Ol. 81, 1 = B.C. 456, where he lived till about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Being charged by the faction inimical to Perikles with atheism he left Athens in B.C. 431, and died three years afterwards at Lampsakus. He differed from his various predecessors in their attempts to explain the phenomena of nature, and assumed as the prime cause of motion a non-material cause, νοῦς = 'spirit,' to account for the harmony and order as well as composition of material nature, and thus opened the way to a philosophic adoption of the unity of God and the general idea of a divine providence, and led to the gradual abandonment of the habit of personifying natural objects. On his celebrated ὁμοιομέρειαι, see Lucretius de rer. nat. 830 ff. Mueller-Donaldson, Hist. Grk. lit. Vol. I p. 326 ff, Mahaffy, Grk. lit. Vol. II p. 55 ff.

δι-ακούσαι, 'was a hearer or disciple of,' cf. 29, 3, vit. Cicer. iv 1 ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου διήκουσε, an seni sit ger. resp. c. 13 p. 791 Δ τότε Καρνεάδου διήκουον, Pericl. 4, 3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου.

28. περὶ Μελίσσον σπουδάζειν, 'that he attended the lectures of Melissus.' Melissus, a native of Samos, was distinguished as being the general who resolutely defended his city against the Athenians in the war of Ol. 85. 1 = B.C. 440 and even defeated the Athenian fleet in the absence of Perikles. He, like Zeno, his fellow Eleatic, transferred the poetic philosophy of his great pantheist predecessor Parmenides into Ionic prose, Pericl. iv 3, xxvi.

29. τὸν φυσικὸν] οἱ φυσικοί, 'the physicists,' was a name given to the first (Ionic, Eleatic and Italian) philosophers, who

were wholly occupied in speculating on the origin and existence of things apart from phenomena. See LS. Lex. s.v.

οὐκ εἰς τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος] 'wrong as to dates,' lit. 'incorrectly handling the chronology,' G. § 171, 1. Cf. Thuc. i 97, 2 τούτων ὅσπερ καὶ ἤψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ, 'Ἑλλάνικος βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη, v 26, 3 λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους.

30. νεώτερος] the exact date of his birth is not known.

### 3 1. Σαμῖους] Perikl. 25 ff.

2. συνδιέτριβε, was his constant companion.' Isokr. ad Nikokl. § 8 p. 20 v φίλους πῶ μὴ μεθ' ὧν ἡδιστα διατρίψεις ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὧν ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν διοικήσεις, Aesch. c. Tim. § 149 p. 21 περὶ τῶν διατριβῶν ἃς συνεδιέτριβον ἀλλήλους.

§ 4. μᾶλλον ἢν τις προσέχοι, 'one would rather give heed to,' 'believe,' G. § 226, 2.

3. τοῖς—λέγουσιν] the order is τοῖς λέγουσιν τὸν Θ. γένεσθαι ζηλωτὴν Μησιφίλου τοῦ Φρεαρρίου. [ζηλωτὴν, i. q. μαθητὴν 'zealous admirer,' 'follower.' Lucian Demon. v. p. 391 c. 48 'Ἀντισθένης καὶ Κράτης καὶ Διογένης ζηλωτῆς, Hermot. c. 14 p. 723. τοῦ Φρεαρρίου] above 1, 1.

5. τῶν φυσικῶν, as Anaxagoras and Melissus, 3, 27. For the gen. see G. § 168.

6. σοφίαν, i. e. moral and political philosophy, which was that of Solon and the other seven wise men except Thales, Sol. c. 3: the later wise men or, as they called themselves after the time of Protagoras, sophists, substituted for it either rhetoric and the art of persuasion in courts of justice (Gorgias) or dialectic (Protagoras).

οὕσαν, 'which really was,' (καλουμένην; the contrast would have been heightened if there had been a μέν after καλουμένην.

7. δανότητα, 'insight,' 'cleverness,' Pericl. iv 2. δραστήριον σύνεσιν, 'practical sagacity,' ἐπιτήδευμα, predicate accusative after πεποιημένου, G. § 166.

9. αἵρεσιν, 'sect,' 'school,' ἐκ διαδοχῆς, 'in unbroken succession,' as in the schools of philosophy. μὲν οὖν, 'so then:' the οὖν is resumptive, after the digression about Mnesiphilus; μὲν answers to the δὲ in the following clause. Cf. 7, 4.

οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα] G. § 141, note 3.

§ 5. 12. ἤδη πολιτευόμενος, 'as soon as he had begun his political career.' Πολιτεύειν means 'to be a πολίτης,' πολιτεύεσθαι 'to take part in the government.'

13. ἐπλησ[α]ίν] 'was his disciple.' Isocr. Antid. § 186 ἡγούμεναι δ' ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτι καταμαθεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, εἰ διέλθοιμι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις δὲ ποιούμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζειν ἡμῶν βουλομένους, Luc. Hermot. c. 80 p. 824 ἤκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τινὸς λέγοντος ἀνδρὸς, ὃ πάμπολλοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πλησιάζουσιν, Plut. Demosth. c. 3 p. 846 εἰ τῶν διαφιλοσοφίαν πλησιάζοντων.

14. ὁρμαῖς, 'impulses,' esp. such as are vehement and inconsiderate, 3, 1.

ἀστάθμητος, 'unsteady,' 'unstable,' properly 'which cannot be weighed;' Arist. Av. 169 ἀνθρωπος ὁρμῆς ἀστάθμητος πετόμενος, Dem. de f. 1. § 149, p. 383, 5 ὁ δὴμῶς ἐστὶν ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν πάντων, Thuc. iv 62 τὸ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον κρατεῖ.

15. ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος, 'inasmuch as he followed his natural inclination only,' lit. 'by itself.' ἀνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας=ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπαιδεύτως, 'without rational motive or control.'

16. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω, 'for good or for evil.'

17. ἐξισταμένη, a natura sua desciscenti, 'degenerating,' 'breaking out into vice.' Cf. Plutarch mor. p. 649 D ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυντευόμενος (κισσὸς) ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀπηγόρευεν, Theophr. hist. pl. 6 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐξίστασθαι (φασὶ δάφνην μεταφυνευομένην) καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ χρώμα διασώζειν, ib. 7 οἶνος ἐξιστάμενος varra and Dem. p. 933, 25 (i p. 70 ed Paley-Sandys) ἐξεστηκόςτος οἶνου, 'wine that has turned vapid.'

18. καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους, 'even so the roughest colts prove the best horses, when they get proper training.'

20. ἤς προσήκα] sc. τυχεῖν. Observe the transition in προσήκει and τύχῃσι to the direct discourse.

21. καταρτίσεις, 'breaking in.' Cf. Soph. Ant. 476 σμικρῷ χαλῶν δ' οἶδα τοὺς θυμονμένους ἱπποὺς καταρτυθέντας, Plato legg. vii c. 14 p. 808 D ὅσῳ μάλιστα ἔχει πῆγῃ τοῦ φρονεῖν μήτῃ κατηρτυμένῃ, Plut. de aud. poet. c. 2 p. 38 c τὰς ἐφ' ἡδονῇ ὁρμὰς... ἂν ἐξ τῆς ἀφύτου, ἢ πεφύκασι, χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ λόγους χρηστοῖς ἀφαιρῶν καταρτὺν τὴν φύσιν. Athenaeus after Idomeneus tells a story of Themistokles' extravagance; see his Deipnosophists xii 533 D, and cf. below c. 3 § 3 and moral. p. 184 F.

§ 6. ἃ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔσται, 'as for what some connect with these peculiarities.' διηγήματα πλάττοντες, 'fabricating stories,' anticipates the judgment pronounced in the next clause.

22. ἀποκήρυξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, 'the solemn renunciation of him by his father, declared by the herald's voice.' Cf. Alcib. 3, 1 βουλευμένον δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρωνος Περιελῆς οὐκ εἶπεν, i.e. publica auctoritate abdicare, Thomas Magister, p. 95 ἀποκήρυκτος: ὁ ἐπὶ ἀδικήματι ἐκβληθεὶς τῆς οἰκίας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ ψήφου δικαστικῆς.

The writer of the article on ἀποκήρυξις in Dict. of Antiq. p. 103 ed. 2 says that it is not mentioned by any of the orators or the older writers and that therefore it could rarely have taken place. But see Demosth. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀνόματος § 39 p. 1006, 21 ὁ νόμος... τοὺς γυνάσ τοιεῖ κυρίου οὐ μόνον θέσθαι τοῦτομα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐξαλείψαι βούλωνται καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι and cf. Plato de legg. xi c. 9 p. 928 D οἱ πατέρες ἡγῶντο ἂν δέον τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετεῖν, ἐξεῖναι σφίσι, ἐὰν βούλωνται, τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίῳ πάντων ἀπειπεῖν υἱὸν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτ' εἶναι i.e. 'to disclaim a son, so that he should no longer be legally such,' ib. p. 929 C ταῦτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τῷ πατρί τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκηρύττειν, ἕλλως δὲ μηδαμῶς. Lucian in his Ἀποκρυπτόμενος tells us that substantial reasons were required to insure the ratification of such extraordinary severity. The process was not unknown to the Romans, as is shown by Spalding on Quintil. Inst. iii 6, 96, where a law is

quoted: *abdicated ne quid de bonis patriis capiat*. As to the story itself Plutarch's doubts are justified on good grounds, notwithstanding the agreement of later writers, as Nepos c. 2 *quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebat, a patre exheredatus est*, the renunciation of course implying disinheritance. Notice the use of the genitive of the agent with ὑπὸ after the verbal substantive, cf. Plato Rep. II c. 17, p. 878 A τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ παθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ νιέος = ἔπασχε ὑπὸ τοῦ νιέος, III c. 4 p. 390 ο Ἄρεός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμός, Phaed. § 110 p. 99 B δινὴν περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, i.e. *vorticem qui a caelo fit*.

24. ἐπὶ τῇ τ. π. ἀτιμίᾳ] 'at, because of, her son's disgrace;' cf. 7, 3; 21, 3; 24, 3. περιλόπου γενομένης] G. § 277, 2 or 6.

25. δοκᾷ, 'are thought,' 'generally believed,' 3, 2. G. § 185, 2. καταψεύσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦ, *facta esse de eo*, 'to have been alleged falsely about him,' cf. Plat. Phaed. p. 85 A οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... καὶ τῶν κύκνων καταψεύδονται, de legg. VII p. 821 B καταψευδόμεθα νῦν... Ἕλληνες πάντες μεγάλων θεῶν. καὶ τοῖναντίον, 'on the contrary,' 'on the opposite side of the question.' Plutarch appeals to another anecdote, which presupposes a friendly relation between father and son at this period also.

26. τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν = πολιτεύεσθαι. ἀποτρέπων 'by way of discouraging,' 'detering him from.' On the absence of the article τοῦ before πράττειν cf. Xen. Comm. IV 7, 6 τῶν οὐρανίων φροντιστῶν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν, Lucian Iup. conf. c. 6 ἀποτρέποντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θύειν καὶ εἰδεσθαι, dialog. deor. V 5 οὐδ' οἱ σπινθήρες... ἀπέτρεπόν σε μὴ οὐχὶ πίνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ. See G. § 260, 1; § 263, 1.

27. ὁ πατήρ] G. § 141 n. 2. ἐπεδείκνυε, 'used to point out,' 17, 2. πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ] 'on the beach.'

28. ἔρημμένας, predicate participle, *abjectas, derelictas*, 'abandoned.' See index s. v. ῥίπτω. παρορωμένας, the old reading was *παρωραμένας* for which Cobet suggests *παρωσμένας*, referring to his *Var. Lect.* p. 160 for instances of the interchange of the two words in MSS. εἰς 87] The

ὡς, to which δὴ adds further subjectivity, shows that ὁμοίως ἐχόντων gives the cause assigned by Themistokles' father for his action. Cf. 4, 3 l. 26.

29. δημαγωγός, here used in neutral sense, 'statesmen.' ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται, sc. ὄντες, 'whenever they shew themselves to be unserviceable.'

30. τῶν πολλῶν, 'the many,' i.e. the people. ὁμοίως ἐχόντων, 'were disposed alike,' 'felt in like manner towards.' ἔχειν is often joined to an adverb of manner in the sense of 'to be,' cf. 29, 4 ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν. Professor Nichol, *Death of Themistocles* p. 9, makes his hero tell the story thus:—

"Twas in my twentieth year,  
that, by the Ilissus, Neocles and I  
walked to the shore at sunset, when the Pnyx  
murmured with surges of the evil news,  
that Artaphernes, brother of the king,  
sagest of Medes, at Ladé, had o'erwhelmed  
Miletus and our kindred of the isles—  
in that full spring of life, when all the world  
seems to an eager dream a ready spoil;  
'When I am chief in Athens,' I exclaimed,  
'we shall efface disaster.' Neocles  
smiled, till, as we went pacing by the tide,  
he broke in speech; 'So you are born to rule  
and are ambition haunted: see the end'—  
He pointed to a battered hulk that lay  
with yawning rents more ghastly by each wave—  
'I saw this galley crowned with myrtle boughs;  
the swiftest in the war, it bore the gods  
on its exultant bulwarks; now disused  
it falls asunder, plank by plank, unknown.  
So fare the favourites of an hour, the play  
that made them princes on the stage being o'er,  
and the crowd clamours they have served their turn,  
cast like a ruined wreck or broken toy.'



## CHAPTER III

- 4 § 1. 2. μέντοι, *tamen*, 'yet,' notwithstanding his youthful excesses and follies. ταχὺ καὶ νεανικῶς, *mature et strenue*, 'early in life and vigorously,' Plato Theaet. p. 168 c πάνυ γὰρ νεανικῶς ('with spirit') τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκας, Plutarch Cat. c. 16 p. 766 c ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι νεανικῶς, Ages. c. 11 p. 602 A ἐπειρᾶτο νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, Cic. c. 9 p. 865 E ἐδημηγόρησε νεανικῶς. ἀψασθαι τοῦ Θ., 'laid hold of Them.,' 'riveted his attention.' The inverse construction is more common, as in 25, 2 l. 17, Cato c. 8 p. 837 E ἀψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας.

3. κρατῆσαι, 'mastered him.'

4. εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *statim ab initio*, 'from the very first.' A phrase of common occurrence in Plutarch, e.g. Ages. 1, 1 ὥσπερ ἱπποὺς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμαζομένους, Dion 7, 2, Alkib. 4, 2, Aem. Paul. 3, 8 οὐδεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλῳ παρανομίᾳ κινεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν, Num. 8, 1, comp. Lyk. c. Num. 4, 4 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι καὶ τυπούμενοι, Pomp. 1, 1, Lyk. 16, 1 τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην πεφυκὸς, *ibid.* 18, 2 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζοντο, Perikl. 81, 2, Lys. 2, 1, Tit. Flam. 4, 3, Philop. 1, 2. We find also εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, as Pelop. 8, 4, Luk. 33, 3, Pelop. 8, 4, Marc. 29, 5. τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφίμενος, 'in his eagerness to hold the foremost place,' G. § 141 n. 6, § 258.

5. ἱταμῶς, 'boldly,' 'hastily,' 'eagerly,' 'rashly,' *lit.* 'in headlong fashion' (εἰμι, ἵτης). Cf. Cat. c. 23 p. 770 B οὕτως περιφανῶς καὶ ἱταμῶς τοὺς κοινούς ἐξαργάζων πολέμους, Demetr. c. 11 p. 894 A ἱταμῶς ὑποστὰς τὸν θόρυβον, *de am. mult.* c. 1 p. 93 B ἀποκραναμένον ἱταμῶς καὶ προχείρως, *de san. praec.* c. 11 p. 127 F βαδίζειν ἱταμῶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθειαν, Dem. *de Chers.* § 68 p. 106, 24 ἀνδρείωτερον τῶν ἱταμῶς πολιτευομένων παρ' ἡμῖν ἐμεινόντων ἡγοῦμαι. ὑφίστατο τὰς ἀπεχθείας, *subsistebat inimicitias*, 'encountered the enmity of.' Thuc. viii 68, 3 ἐπειδή-  
 ὑπέστη τὰ δεινὰ, Plut. *de aud. poet.* c. 11 p. 82 c ὑφίστα-

σθαι τοὺς κυδόνους, consol. ad Apoll. c. 33 p. 118 c τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς γενομένους θανάτους πρῶτος ὑποστάντας.

7. 'Αριστείδην] short for τὴν πρὸς 'Αριστείδην. Cobet l.c. would read πρὸς 'Αριστείδην.

8. τὴν ἐναντίαν, sc. ὁδόν. So μακρὰν 4, 1; τὴν ταχίστην 7, 2; 16, 2. αὐτῇ] G. § 186. πορευόμενον] cf. below 1. 19 ἡπαγκάτετο ἐναντιοῦσθαι (ὁ 'Αριστ.), Arist. c. 2, 4 'Αριστείδης καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, ib. 2, 1 'Αριστείδης ἤψατο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολιτείας, ἔσχε δ' ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου Θεμιστοκλέα.

9. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'though,' 'and yet,' introduces a remark limiting the previous statement, to show that variance of political sentiments was not the original cause of their animosity, 10, 5. παντάπασιν—μειρακιώδη, 'altogether puerile,' Sull. c. 4 p. 453 A ἡ ἐχθρὰ βραχείαν οὕτω καὶ μειρακιώδη λαβοῦσα τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν, Alex. c. 31 p. 633 D μειρακιώδη καὶ κερὴν ἀπόκρισιν, Crass. c. 16 p. 553 D πρὸς τοὺς συνήθευς πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν, Num. c. 8 p. 65 E μειρακιώδους φιλονεκίας, Arist. c. 8 p. 323 C τὴν κερὴν καὶ μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες, Plat. de rep. c. 13, p. 466 B ἀνόητος τε καὶ μειρακιώδης δόξα. ἡ πρὸς τούτον ἐχθρὰ] G. § 141 note 3.

§ 2. 11. Στησιλάω] Stesilaus. G. § 171, 2. Κέον, a native of Keos, which was an island in the Mare Myrtoum not far from Cape Sunium, famous as the birth-place of Simonides the poet and Prodikus the Sophist. Ariston himself was a native of the island, Aristeid. 2, 3 'Αρίστων δ' ὁ Κεῖος ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι φησι τὴν ἐχθράν.

γένος] G. § 160, 1.

12. 'Αρίστων] Ariston of Keos (not to be confounded with Ariston of Chios, ἐπικαλούμενος Σείρην, Diog. Laert. vii § 160 ff., who was a Stoic) succeeded Lykon as head of the Peripatetic school about B.C. 230,

He was according to Cicero de fin. v 5, 18 a man of taste and elegance, but without the earnestness of a true philosopher (*concinnus et elegans: sed ea quas desideratur a magno philosopho gravitas in eo non fuit; scripta sane et multa et polita, sed nescio quo pacto*

*auctoritatem oratio non habet*). In his *de sen.* § 3 Cic. speaks of him slightly for giving Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. Besides this work he appears to be the author of one called *ἑρωτικά διατρεβαί*, quoted once or twice by Athenaeus under the title of *ἑρωτικά ὁμοία*, and another inscribed *Δύκων* out of gratitude to his master (Plut. *de aud. poet.* c. 1, p. 14 v).

*ιστόρηκεν*, *memoriae prodidit*, 'has recorded,' frequently used in this sense by Plutarch and later writers, but never so in earlier Greek. See n. to 1, § 1.21. *ἐκ τούτου*, 'from that time,' 'thenceforward.'

13. *διετλουν-στασιζοντες*, 31, 4. G. § 279, 1; 4 note.

14. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ*, 'not but what,' lit. this was not, however, the only ground, but &c. Cf. 5, 4.

15. *ἔοικεν*, a weaker expression than *φαίνεται*, but objective and not subjective like *δοκεῖ*. *αὐξήσαι τὴν διαφοράν*, 'widened the breach.'

16. *πρᾶος*, 'placable,' 'gentle' (*βλαῖος*. *καλοκαγαθικός* (G. § 129, 13 (b)), 'inclined to *καλοκαγαθία*' (c. 12 § 3) i.e. the conduct and character of *καλοκαγαθοί*, which was originally a party name=Lat. *optimates*, *boni viri* 'the nobles' or 'conservatives' in opp. to the mass of the people or radicals. *τὸν τρόπον*] parallel, not opposed, to *τῇ φύσει*, G. § 188, 1 note 1, § 160, 1.

17. *πρὸς χάριν*, 'with an eye to popularity.' Cf. Fab. Max. c. 20 *πρὸς χάριν τὰς τίμας νέμειν*, Lucull. c. 5 *ὁ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν*—*ἐχθρὰν εἶχε*, comp. Alk. c. Coriol. 1 *ἐν τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς*, Thes. c. 32 *πρὸς χάριν δὲ χλῶ διαλέγεσθαι*, Mar. c. 28 *τῆς ἐκτῆς ὑπατείας ὥρεγετο—πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδούς τοῖς πολλοῖς*, Diodor. Sic. xiii. 101 *οἱ πρὸς χάριν δημηγοροῦντες*, i.e. *ad gratiam plebis captandam*. See Index s. v. *πρὸς*.

18. *ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου*, making the highest good of the state his point of departure. Cf. Perikl. 15, 1 *χρῶμενος αὐτῇ* (sc. τῇ ἀριστοκρατικῇ πολιτείᾳ) *πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον*.

19. *μετὰ ἀσφαλείας*] *constanter*, 'with firmness of purpose,' as opposed to rash innovation (*κίνησις*). The contrast between the aristocratical and conservative leanings of Aris-

teides and the democratical sentiments of Themistokles is more clearly indicated in Aristeid. c. 2.

20. ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινεῖν] *ad multa incitanti*, 'trying to engage the people in many new schemes,' cf. Arist. c. 3, 1 πολλὰ κινουμένων τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως, where the meaning is 'causing many things to be reformed,' as in Herod. iii 80, νομίμα κινεῖ πάτρια, Xen. Ages. i 37 διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινήθῃναι, Polybios Hist. ii 21, 3; iv 14, 4; 81, 1 τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν. Polybios also uses κινήτης for 'a seditious person,' xxviii, 17, 12.

21. μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας] 'introducing startling reforms.' Cf. Plat. de legg. xii c. 5 p. 949 κ καινοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιοῦντων ζένων ξένοις, Plut. Solon c. 15 p. 86 β οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν λατρεῖαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, Polyb. 13, 1, 2 οὐκ εὐλαίως διακείμενοι πρὸς καινοτομίαν τῆς οὐκ εὐλαίως πολιτείας, 35, 2, 8 ἐτοίμοις πάντας πρὸς καινοτομίαν ποιήσουσι. The primary meaning of καινοτομεῖν is 'to make a fresh cut;' it was familiar as a mining term 'to open a new vein;' see Böckh, Public Econ. of Ath. p. 635.

22. ἐνιστάμενος πρὸς, 'standing in the way of,' 'resisting,' 7, 1. Cf. quæst. Rom. 81 p. 283 β ἐνιστῆναι πρὸς δύναμιν ἀρχαῖος, adv. Colot. 23 p. 1120 β πρὸς τὴν συνθήκειαν ἐνιστάμενος. The dative is more usual, as in Romul. 25, 1 ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει καὶ κολοῦεν τὸν Ῥώμυλον, Thuc. viii 69 ἢ τις ἐνιστῆται τοῖς ποιουμένοις, Polyb. ii 46, 4 ἐνίστασθαι ταῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβολαῖς.

§ 3. λέγεται γάρ] in ref. to πολλὰ κινεῖν.

23. παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν, 'recklessly eager for glory,' 'madly ambitious.' The word properly means 'borne or wandering away from,' as in Plat. Soph. 228 c παραφόρου ξυτέως γυρομένης ψυχῆς, hence abs. 'deranged,' 'frenzied,' as in Plut. Artox. c. 1 μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων, c. 5 ἦν γὰρ ὑπόκουφος καὶ παράφορος, Dion c. 2 p. 958 κ παραφόρους δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνθρώπων.

24. ἐπὶ φιλοτιμίας] 2, 6 l. 23 n. ἑραστής, *amans*, *studiosus*, 'passionately fond of,' cf. Plato Phædr. p. 253 δ

τιμῆς ἐραστῆς, Rep. vii p. 521 π ἐραστὰς τοῦ ἀρχεῖν, Xen. Cyr. i 5, 12 τοὺς ἐπαινων ἐραστὰς, Soph. 601 ἐραστῆς τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης, Eur. Herakl. 377 ὦ πολέμων ἐραστὰ, Herod. iii 58, 5 πολλοὶ αὐτῆς (τῆς τυραννίδος) ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, Plut. Cam. c. 25 p. 141 F δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστῆς.

δοτε] the anecdote assumes, according to this presentation of it, that Themistokles was still a youth in B.C. 490, and that his wild life lasted till then. But the fact is that he was archon in B.C. 498 and had already devised the fortification of the Peiræus. Cicero Tusc. iv 19, 44 gives a better version of the anecdote: *noctu ambulabat Themistocles, quod somnum capere non posset, quaerentibusque respondebat, Miltiadiis tropaeis se somno suscitari.*

25. ἐν Μαραθῶν] Aristophanes (Ach. 699, Eq. 781, 1344, Vesp. 711, Thesm. 807) uses the dative Μαραθῶνι simply, G. § 120 n. 1. Marathon, the scene of the famous battle between the Persians and Athenians in B.C. 490, was a demos of the tribe Leontis near a bay on the E. coast of Attica.

27. διαβοηθείης, 'when the generalship of Miltiades was the common talk.' Plut. de Herod. malign. 39, 14 p. 871 A διεβοήθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, Perikl. c. 19 p. 163 c διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους, Lucian Men. 6, 463 σφόδρα ἐπὶ συνέσει διαβεβοημένων.

σύνους—πρὸς ἑαυτῷ, 'rapt in deep thought,' 2, 1 l. 10 λόγους συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. τὰ πολλά, *plerumque*, 'commonly,' G. § 160, 2.

28. τὰς νύκτας] G. § 161. τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις] Blass takes this to be the double accusative: 'refused the invitation of his companions to drinking parties;' but why not 'declined his customary drinking bouts'? cf. Plut. pol. praec. p. 812 c ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων αὐτόν.

29. παραιτεῖσθαι, *deprecari, recusare, aversari*, 'to decline,' 'to beg to be excused:' cf. Plut. apophth. regg. p. 207 π οὕτω μετενόησεν ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παραιτήσασθαι τὸ δεῖπνον, Plat. Protag. p. 358 A τὴν δὲ Προδίκου διαίρεσιν τῶν ὁμαίων παραιτοῦμαι.

30. τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολὴν, for τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολήν. Cf. Cleom. 18, 2 ἐπειθοῦτο τοῦτον αἰτιον γίγνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς, consol. ad Apoll. c. 2 ἡ περὶ σε διάθεσις, ib. c. 33 τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτήν, c. 37 τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακώσεως, Lys. or. in Philon. p. 871 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν κακίαν, i.e. *ipsius malitiam*. See Schömann on Plut. Cleom. p. 230.

5 § 4. 1. αὖς—οὐκ ἐψῆ] 'that—it prevented him,' G. § 243. The story is told elsewhere by Plutarch, Moral. p. 184 F, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξίν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγῶν ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν ἐντυχεῖν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' με καθεῦδεν οὐδὲ βαθυμῆν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον.

2. πῆρας—ἀρχήν] predicate nouns, and so without the article, G. § 141 n. 8.

3. ἡλειφε]=ἐγύμναζε, 1 § 3; so ἀλειπτῆς which is properly 'a trainer and teacher in a gymnastic school' is used metaph. of 'a teacher,' Pericl. 4, 2 τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνὴν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλειπτῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

Similarly ἀποδύεσθαι from its meaning 'to strip for gymnastic exercises' came to be used metaphorically of 'preparing for any thing requiring effort;' Demosth. c. 6 Δημοσθένης τὸ πρῶτον ἀποδύνει πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, praec. r. p. g. c. 15 οἱ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδύμενοι πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν, Agis c. 6 οἱ νεαὶ συναπεδύσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, *una cum eo se accinxerunt ad virtutem capessendam*, de amic. mult. c. 3 φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα πάσης τύχης συναποδυσσόμενους.

ἡσκει] another metaphor borrowed from the palaestra.

πόρρωθεν ἔτι, for ἔτι πόρρωθεν to avoid the hiatus. Sintonis reads πόρρωθεν ἤδη.

## CHAPTER IV

§ 1. 3. καὶ, like *ac* or *atque*, often introduces a statement emphatically. πρῶτον μὲν is correlative to ἐκ δὲ τούτου § 1. 24.

τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσσodon, *pecuniam pui-*

*licam quae ex metallis redibat* (Nepos c. 2), 'the income from Laurium.'

The silver mines of Laurion (Λαύρεια or Λαύρια) were situated in the south of Attica not far from the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thorikus and the western at Anaphlystus. It was the possession of these mines which contributed so much to the prosperity of the state (Arist. Vesp. 657 sqq.). The revenue from them was originally distributed among the citizens, so that every person whose name was in the register (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον) was entitled to his portion. Themistokles prevailed upon the people to forego the promised distribution for the purpose of obtaining an efficient navy in the war against Aegina about B.C. 483. See Herod. VII c. 144 ἐμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὼν (*sortiri viridum*) ἑκαστος δέκα δραχμαίς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε (*persuasit*) 'Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης πανσαμένους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικασίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας.

9. ἔθες ἔχόντων, = εἰωθόντων.

10. διανέμεσθαι, 'to divide amongst themselves,' G. § 199, 2.

11. παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 'coming forward to speak before the people.' Παρίεναι and παρελθεῖν were technical terms in this sense, below 17, 2, Thuk. v. 45 ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence Demosth. περὶ συνταξ. § 14, p. 170, 6 calls 'the speakers' οἱ παριόντες.

12. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, 'out of this money,' like ἀπὸ § 2, l. 23, the means being considered as the starting-point, 81, l. 16.

14. ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον, 'for the purpose of the war with the people of Aegina.' See Herod. v 81 ff., vi 87 ff. ἤκμαζε, 'was at its height,' so below, 24, 2, Thuk. iii 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμαζόντος, Plutarch Anton. c. 32 ἀκμαζούσης τῆς συνοουσίας. Cf. Herod. vii 145 ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος (πόλεμος ἦν) 'Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι.

16. κατέχον—τὴν θάλασσαν = ἐθαλασσοκράτουں, 'were masters of the sea,' Cic. pro leg. Man. § 54 civitas Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur.

§ 2. 17. ἥ καὶ ῥᾶον, quare etiam facilius, 'wherefore all the more easily,' Thuk. ii 2, 3. Cf. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον, Thuk. i 11, 25, 4, iii 13, 3, iv 1, 2, 103, 2.

18. μακρὸν] 8, 1, 1. 7 n.

19. οὐ πᾶν, not in its usual sense of *omnino non* 'altogether not,' 'not at all,' 'by no means,' but 'not altogether,' 'not absolutely,' for there was a general apprehension of such an invasion, τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος Thuc. i 14. The meaning of οὐ πᾶν has been thoroughly discussed by Cope, Appendix Note C to his translation of Plato's *Gorgias*, p. 139 ff. ὥς ἀφικόμενοι] G. § 277 n. 2. Cf. 14, 2; 22, 1; 29, 1.

20. ἐπισείων, 'shaking at them,' as a scarecrow or bug-bear, cf. Aem. Paul. c. 18 ῥομφαλας ἐπισείοντες, Lucian dial. deor. ii 2 μὴ ἐπίσειε την αλγίδα, xix 1 ἐπισείουσα τὸν λόφον ἐκπλήττει με, Hom. Il. iv 166 ὄτ' ἂν Ζεὺς—αὐτὸς ἐπισσειήσιν (incutiat) ἐρεμνὴν αλγίδα πᾶσιν.

21. ἀποχρησάμενος, *abusus*, 'using for some other than the pretended object.' Cf. Plut. ep. Alk. c. Coriol. c. 2 ἀποχρωμένων μάλλον ἢ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. See n. on 28, 2.

22. ἱκατὸν] 200 according to Herodotus; Corn. Nepos 2, 2 and Polyaeus 1, 30 agree with Plutarch.

24. αἱ καὶ, 'which in fact.' ἐνανμάχσαν, 'fought,' the meaning of ναῦς, as in *ναυαρχεῖν* c. 12, being otiose.

§ 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, *post hoc*, 'after this,' answering to πρῶτον μὲν § 1. Cf. 19, 2; in 20, 2 it means *propter hoc*, 'because of this.'

25. κατὰ μικρὸν, 'little by little,' 'gradually,' G. § 191, iv 2 (2) (c). ὑπάγων, *inducens*, 'leading them on slowly,' 'luring them on,' as in Herod. viii 106 οἱ (θεοὶ) σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐμὰς, ib. ix 94, Xen. Cyr. i 6, 37 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς δυσχωρίαν φυγῇ ὑπαγαγόντες, ib. iii 2, 8.

26. ὥς, subjectively, 'because, as he said, they were,' G. § 277 n. 2. τὰ περὶ] G. § 160, 1. Cobet thinks the true reading is τῷ περὶ μὲν, *terrestribus quidem copiis*. οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις, *ne conterminis quidem populis*, 'not even for the neighbouring states.'



27. *δντας*] sc. τοὺς πολίτας, implied in the preceding πῶλιν.

28. *ἀμύνασθαι*, aor. inf., said of a single expected event, *ἄρχειν*, imperf. infinitive, of a permanent state of things.

30. *ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων*] de legg. iv 706 B, where, though Themistokles is not mentioned by name, Plato censures the innovations introduced by him, regarding, as he does, the land service as a type of steadiness and inflexible ranks, the sea-service as one of mutability and adventure, *ἐτι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκεις ἐπὶ ἀπολέσαι παῖδας αὐτοῖς συνήγεκε, πρὶν ἀντὶ πεζῶν ὀπλιτῶν μονίμων (statatiorum) ναυτικούς γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι πυκνὰ ἀποκηδύνοντας δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ποιεῖν, μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν μένοντας ἐπιφερομένων πολεμίων, ἀλλ' εἰκυίας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις ὅπλᾳ τε ἀπολλύσι καὶ φεύγουσι θῆ τινες οὐκ αἰσχροί, ὡς φασι, φυγὰς*. This passage is again referred to by Plutarch, *Philop.* c. 14 p. 363 F 'Επαμινῶνδαν λέγουσιν ὀκνεῦντα γεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ὠφελειῶν τοὺς πολίτας, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἀπρακτοὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκουσίως. Grote observes that Plato does not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habit of obedience far more complete than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman.

- 6 1. *διαβολὴν—πάρεσχεν*, 'furnished occasion for a charge against himself.' *ὡς ἄρα*] the *ἄρα* is not epexegetic, 'namely,' but ironical, implying a contemptuous feeling for the statement.

2. *τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος*, 'taking away from the citizens,' G. § 174. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii 3, 20 *τὰ ὅπλα πάντων παρείλοντο*, *Symp.* iv 40 *εἰ μού τις καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα παρέλοιτο*, *Mem.* i 6, 1 *τοὺς συνουσιαστάς αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) παρελίσθαι*.

3. *εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην*, i.e. to rower's service. *ὑπηρέσιον* = 'the rower's cushion' (τὸ κῶας ᾧ ἐπικάθηται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντριβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πτυχάς. Schol. ad Thuc. ii 93): cf. Arist. *Eq.* 785, Isocr. *de pace* p. 169 *αὐτὸς μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖεν, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους πάντας εἰσεβιβάζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξεπέμπον. νῦν δὲ*

τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ' ὅπταν ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιούσας ὑπηρεσίον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἷους ὀλίγη πρότερον διήλθον, μεθ' ὀπίσσω κυδυνεύουσιν.

4. συνέσται] συστέλλειν is 'to contract,' 'reduce to a small compass,' hence 'to fold up' below 29, 2. Cf. Dem. de cor. p. 310 § 246 ταῦτα (τὰ ἀμαρτήματα) εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστεῖλαι, Plato de legg. iii c. 2 p. 691 π τὴν τῶν βασιλέων γένεσιν εἰς τὸ μέτριον συνέστειλε, with the accessory notion of 'abasing,' 'humbling,' Plut. Cleom. c. 11, 2 συστελλομένων... εἰς τὴν εὐγενῇ καὶ λακωνικῇ ἐκείνῃ διαίταν, ib. c. 13, 4 συνεσταλμένον δέσπων de cena pascua et frugalī.

§ 4. ἔπραξε, 'achieved,' 'carried out.'

5. κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, 'after quelling his opposition in the ekklesia.'

ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στήσιμβροτος] See n. to 1, 3 l. 21.

The work of Stesimbrotus of Thasos (2, 3, l. 27), to which Plutarch frequently refers, was probably the same as that quoted by Athenaeus XIII 589 by the title περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θεοκυθίδου καὶ Περικλέους. It appears to have been a sort of *Chronique scandaleuse* of these worthies, dealing mostly with anecdotes of their private life. Cf. below c. 24 and Perikl. c. 13, where Plutarch speaks of him in terms of disparagement. His ill-natured remarks about Kimon were no doubt occasioned by the part which that hero took in the siege of Stesimbrotus' native island.

6. εἰ μὲν δὴ, 'whether now he did (as Plato opines) hinder or not the nice adjustment and blemish the soundness of the constitution, let it be a subject for philosophers rather to consider.' Cf. Isoc. Areopag. p. 151 c μετὰ πολιτείας ἀκριβεστέρως ἀμεινῶν τὸν βίον διάγειν, ib. p. 147 π τὰς ἀκριβείας τῶν νόμων where rather excessive strictness is implied, Thuc. vii 13, 3 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ i.e. 'the exact discipline,' Arrian Anab. ii 21, 9 ἀκριβέστατα πληρώματα, Plut. Cat. mai. c. 4 τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρόν ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φαλαττοῦσης.

8. ὅτι δὲ κατὰ] Plato l. c. p. 707 c will not allow the truth of this statement either: he contends that the battles of

*licam quae ex metallis redibat* (Nepos c. 2), 'the income from Laurium.'

The silver mines of Laurion (Λαύρεια or Λαύρια) were situated in the south of Attica not far from the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thorikus and the western at Anaphlystus. It was the possession of these mines which contributed so much to the prosperity of the state (Arist. Vesp. 657 sqq.). The revenue from them was originally distributed among the citizens, so that every person whose name was in the register (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον) was entitled to his portion. Themistokles prevailed upon the people to forego the promised distribution for the purpose of obtaining an efficient navy in the war against Aegina about B.C. 488. See Herod. VII c. 144 ἐμελλὸν λαβεῖσθαι ἀρχηγῶν (sortituri viri) ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμὰς· τότε Θημιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε (persuasit) Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης παυσάμενους, νίκας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικαιοσύνης ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας.

9. ἔθους ἔχόντων, = ἐλωθόντων.

10. διανέμεσθαι, 'to divide amongst themselves,' G. § 199, 2.

11. παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 'coming forward to speak before the people.' Παριέναι and παρελθεῖν were technical terms in this sense, below 17, 2, Thuk. v. 45 ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence Demosth. περὶ συνταξ. § 14, p. 170, 6 calls 'the speakers' οἱ παρίοντες.

12. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, 'out of this money,' like ἀπὸ § 2, l. 23, the means being considered as the starting-point, 31, 1 l. 16.

14. ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον, 'for the purpose of the war with the people of Aegina.' See Herod. v 81 ff., vi 87 ff. ἤκμαξε, 'was at its height,' so below, 24, 2, Thuk. iii 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, Plutarch Anton. c. 82 ἀκμαζούσης τῆς συνουσίας. Cf. Herod. vii 145 ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος (πόλεμος ἦν) Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι.

16. κατέχον—τὴν θάλασσαν = ἐθαλασσοκράτουν, 'were masters of the sea,' Cic. pro leg. Man. § 54 civitas Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur.

§ 2. 17. ἧ καὶ ῥᾶον, quare etiam facilius, 'wherefore all the more easily,' Thuk. ii 2, 3. Cf. ἧ καὶ μᾶλλον, Thuk. i 11, 22, 25, 4, iii 18, 8, iv 1, 2, 103, 2.

3. 'Ολυμπίαν] Olympia, the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. This anecdote may have arisen from Timokreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint that at the Isthmian games Themistokles entertained the visitors with stale viands (Ἰσθμοὶ πανδοκεὺς γελοῖος ψυχρὰ κρέα παρείχων). διαμυλλόμενος, *contendens*.

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§ 3. 7. φοντο δεῖν, 'thought proper.' δεσθαί δεῖν means *neesse credere*, hence *propositum habere, velle*: so οὐκ δεσθαί δεῖν is *nolle, prohibere*. Buttmann Index Plat. dial. IV p. 222.

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10. ἐνέκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν] a further proof of his φιλοτιμία was that he obtained a prize 'as choragus.'

Salamis and Artemisium *did not* make the Athenians better than they were before, but that Marathon and Plataea did.

9. ἡ τότε] G. § 141 note 3.

10. ὑπῆρξε, 'fell to their lot,' 'accrued.' Thuc. vi 86, 4 δεόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέροις (σωτηρίαν) μὴ προδιδόναι.

11. ἀνέστησαν, *iacentem excitaverunt, erexerunt*, 'set up,' 'reinstated.' Cf. Alcib. c. 32 τὴν πόλιν—ἐκ λυπρῶν ἐτι λειψάνων ἀναστήσας, Arist. c. 10 τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου, Kim. c. 16 Ἐφιάλτου κωλύοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδ' ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, H. F. 852 θεῶν ἀνέστησεν μόνος τιμᾶς πιτυούσας ἀνοσίῳ ἀνδρῶν ὕπο. τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ] 'besides other testimony also.'

12. ἐμαρτύρησε] Thuc. i 73, 3 τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον (sc. of the battle of Salamis being the salvation of Greece) αὐτὸς (Xerxes) ἐποίησε· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὐσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλεονί τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

§ 5. 13. διαμενούσης] G. § 277, 5, § 278, 1.

14. ἐμποδὼν εἶναι] infinitive of purpose. G. § 265.

15. τῆς διώξεως] gen. after ἐμποδὼν, cf. Xen. Cyr. ii 4, 23 ἀποσοβούντες (αὐτοὺς) ἐμποδὼν ἃν γίγνοιτο τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὅλον στράτευμα, ib. iii 1, 9, viii 5, 24 ἐμποδὼν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε, Hiero 8, 1 ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἐμποδὼν σοι τοῦτον νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι, Hell. vi 5, 38 ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Eur. Suppl. 395 λόγων τις ἐμποδὼν ὅδ' ἔρχεται. δουλωσόμενον] G. § 277, 3.

## CHAPTER V

Before giving an account of the Persian war Plutarch, in his usual way, puts together a few characteristic notes and notices of Themistokles.

§ 1. 17. σύντονον χρηματιστήν, 'an eager money-maker,' not in a sordid way, but 'in the spirit of an ἐλευθέριος' liberaliter, or 'for the sake of liberality' that he might have the more to spend. Cf. Plato Theaet. c. 7, p. 144 D πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθεριότητα θαυμαστός.

18. καὶ γὰρ, not etenim but nam et, καὶ answering to the καὶ before λαμπρόν. Cf. Xen. Oecon. v καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾧ δότει ἀεὶ ἐν ᾧρα αἱ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰσὶν, i.e. nam tam in agris quam in urbe. See Meineke n. to Menander p. 343.

19. φιλοθύτην ὄντα, 'since he was fond of sacrificing,' Arist. Vesp. 82, Plut. quaest. conv. 111, 7 II p. 631 A ὁ δ' εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλοθύτης, Rom. c. 7 καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικὸς Πάμυλος. Sacrifices are enumerated by Aristotle (Ethic. viii 9) and Thucyd. II 38 among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly accompanied by the entertainment of friends and relations.

20. ἀφθόνον χορηγίας, 'abundant means,' 'an ample fortune,' lit. 'means for the provision of χοροί,' below § 3 l. 10. Cf. Plut. de exsil. c. 7 p. 602 A χορηγία βασιλικῇ πρωταγεύομενος, Arist. Pol. 7, 4 οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἀνευ συμμετροῦ χορηγίας, Polyb. 11, 8, 5 καὶ τις ἦν περὶ τοὺς πλείστους καλλωπισμὸς ὑπερέχων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν, 17, 18, 5 (17, 35, 5 ed. Hultsch) κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον οὐ περιττεύων τῇ χορηγίᾳ.

21. τούναντιον] G. § 160, 2. γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν, 'great stinginess and penuriousness.' Γλισχρός (γλίχομαι) is properly 'sticky,' hence 'greedy,' 'close-fisted'; μικρολόγος, 'a reckoner of trifles,' see Theophrastus Charact. xxiv ed. Jebb.

22. κατηγοροῦσιν, sc. αὐτοῦ, εἰ exprobrant, 'charge him with.' ὡς, expresses the ground of their charge, see n. to c. 4 § 1. 26. τὰ πεμπόμενα, presents sent for his table, when he was unable to take part himself in the sacrificial feast. τῶν ἐωδίων] G. § 168.

**25.** ἠπειλησε—δοῦραον ἵππον, 'threatened that he would soon make his house a wooden horse' in reference to the ἵππος δοῦράρεος of Homer (Odys. viii 493). Cf. Cic. or. p. Mur. § 78 *intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus, a quo numquam me consule opprimemini*. The threat meant, that out of Philides' house there should come misfortunes to ruin him, just as the Greeks who captured Troy came out of the wooden horse.

**26.** ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ κτλ, 'that he would stir up family quarrels and litigation between the fellow and some members of his household.' *ταράσσειν* = 'to raise by stirring up;' cf. Cat. min. c. 22 *στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ταράσσειν*, Soph. Ant. 789 *τόδε νεῖκος ἔχεις ταράξας*, Dem. de cor. § 151 *ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος ἐταράχθη*. Cf. Per. 36, 3 *ῥῆξαι κλαυθμόν*, Arist. Nub. 961 *ῥῆξον φωνήν*, etc. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, see n. to c. 16 § 2 l. 22.

§ 2. **28.** ἔτι μὲν] opp. to *ἐς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν*.

**29.** ἀφανής, 'obscure,' 'unknown to fame,')(ἐπιφανής 1, 1. *ἔξ Ἑρμιόνης*, of Hermione, which was a town at the southern extremity of Argolis.

**30.** σπουδαζόμενον, 'held in high esteem,' 'courted;' cf. Perikl. c. 24 *αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι*, Lucian dial. deor. 16, 1 *ὁ δὲ Ἡφαιστος τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐγημε καὶ σπουδάζεται πρὸς αὐτῆς*, Strabo xvii c. 15 p. 833 *μάλιστα ἐσπουδάσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μασανάσσης δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλίαν*. *ἐκλιπαρῆσαι*, *impetrasse*, 'moved by his importunity.'

7 **1.** μελετᾶν, 'to practise.' παρ' αὐτῷ, 'at his house,' Fr. *chez lui*. φιλοτιμούμενος—ζητεῖν, *cupiens huius honoris ut domus sua a multis quaereretur*, 'being ambitious of the honour of many persons frequenting his house.' Cf. Xen. Hipp. i 25 *ἐς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένους ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι*.

**2.** τὴν οἰκίαν, 'his house' (G. § 141 note 2), where Epikles was staying.

3. Ὀλυμπίαν] Olympia, the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. This anecdote may have arisen from Timokreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint that at the Isthmian games Themistokles entertained the visitors with stale viands (Ἰσθμοὶ πανδοκεὺς γελοῖος ψυχρὰ κρέα παρείχεν).  
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9. παρ' ἀξίαν, i.e. οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν, ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν 'beyond desert, 'unduly.' Cf. 2, 2 l. 19. προσωφλίσκανεν] 'got a character besides (i.e. πρὸς τῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκειν) for vulgar ostentation, pretentiousness.' The force of πρὸς would in Latin be best expressed by *ultra*.

10. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν] a further proof of his φιλοτιμία was that he obtained a prize 'as choragus.'



The choregia was one of the most expensive of the annual or recurring liturgies (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι) at Athens, the others being ἀρχιεραία, γυμνασιαρχία, ἐστίαισι, to which the representative of a property of 3 talents—about £720, was liable. The duties of the choregus were to get the choreutae together, to provide them with a trainer (χοροδιδάσκαλος), to pay and maintain them while in training, and also to furnish them with the requisite dresses, crowns and masks.

11. τραγωδοῖς] this may be taken either with χορηγῶν or with ἐρίκησε. Cf. Dem. c. Mid. § 43 τραγωδοῖς κεχορηγήκε ποτε οὗτος, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι with Theophrast. Charact. XIII (ed. Ast) νικήσας τραγωδοῖς, 'when he has gained a prize in a tragic contest,' and Andok. c. Alkib. § 41 p. 42 καίτοι τυγχάνω νενικήκως λαμπάδι καὶ τραγωδοῖς; also the phrase καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς, 'at the representation of the new tragedies,' with which comp. Cic. ep. ad Att. II 19, 3 *gladiatoribus* 'at a show of gladiators.' ἤδη τότε, 'already at that time,' 'even then,' when tragedy was only in its beginning.

12. πῖνακα τῆς νίκης, 'a tablet recording his victory,' on which were inscribed the names of the successful poet, the choregus and the chief archon; it was set up in the temple of Dionysus.

14. Φρύνιχος] Phrynichus the famous tragic poet who gained his first victory in B.C. 511, and his last, the one here recorded, with the Φοίνισσιν in B.C. 476 = Ol. 76, 1. ἐδίδασκεν, *docebat*, because the writer of the tragedy had also to train his own chorus and actors. Hence τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος signifies 'a tragic poet,' κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος, 'a comic poet.'

15. ἦρχεν, 'was the chief archon (ἐπώνυμος).'

§ 4. Notwithstanding his affectation of show, he knew how to win popular favour. οὐ μὲν ἄλλα, 'not but what,' 8, 2 l. 14. τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοτε, intrans. 'he suited,' 'pleased,' lit. 'adapted himself to' 'the common people.' Cf. Alex. c. 52 p. 695 ἃ αὐτὸν δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε.

16. τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δὲ, 'partly—partly,' 'as well—as,' αὐτὰ μὲν—τὰ δέ, 25, 2, G. § 148 n. 4, § 160, 2.

17. ἀπὸ στόματος, 'memoriter,' 'by word of mouth,' i.e. 'by memory,' without any *ονοματολόγος*: Plato Theaet. p. 142 D οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία (ἔχω διηγήσασθαι), οὐκ οὐτῶ γε ἀπὸ στόματος, Xen. Mem. III 6, 9 οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι σοι οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. Cf. Cic. p. Mur. § 77 *nomine appellari abs te civis tuos honestum est.* κριτῇ] 'an arbitrator,' 'referee,' chosen by the parties; Nepos 1 3 *multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur.* ἀσφαλῇ] 'to be depended on,' 'sure.'

18. περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια, 'in (disputes arising out of) private contracts.' ὡς] for ὥστε as often in later Greek.

19. Σιμωνίδην] Simonides of Keos, the celebrated lyric poet, was noted for his mercenary spirit (*φιλαργυρία*). See my *Onomasticon Aristophaneum* s.v. αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων, 'when he asked him to do something unfair,' 'to strain a point in his favour.' Cf. Arist. Nub. 1137 ἐμοὶ μέτρεϊ ἄττα καὶ δίκαι' αἰτουμενόνου.

21. ἄδων=el ἄδοι (*Blass*), not=el ἦδεν (*Sintenis*), G. § 226, 1. παρὰ μέλος=πλημμελῶς, 'out of tune,' (ἐμμελῶς).

22. ἀστέιος ἄρχων, 'a good governor.' ἀστέιος is used in later Greek of any thing good of its kind, as ἀστέιος οἶνος Plutarch quaest. conv. c. 2, 4 p. 620 c, τὸν ἐλλέβορον τὸν ἀστέιον Strabo IX c. 3 p. 418, Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Λυκούργον οἰονταί...χωρίσαντα τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ χειροτέχνας ἀστέιον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδείξει Plut. Lycourg. c. IV.

23. χαρίζομενος=el χαρίζοιτο, 'if he favoured.'

24. Κορινθίους μὲν κτλ, 'for his inconsistency in getting his own likeness so often taken, though he was so ugly, while he cast a slur upon the Corinthians though they inhabited so great a city.' On the coordination of contrasted clauses see my note to Cic. or. p. Planc. § 26 l. 5. For the allusion cf. Aristot. Rhet. I 6 λελοιδορησθαι ὑπέλαβον Κορίνθιοι ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου ποιήσαντος Κορινθίοις δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον, because Glaucus, the Lycian prince, who was a Corinthian by descent, fought on the side of Troy against the Greeks.

25. αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας, 'getting portraits of himself taken,' G. § 199 n. 2, cf. below § 21. 17. The contrast lies between αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας and λουδοροῦντα, and μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν and αἰσχροῦ ὄντος τὴν ὄψιν. Εἰκὼν is to be understood of a portrait-statue or bust, not of a painting. Cf. Jebb to Theophrastus p. 180, 11.

27. αὐξόμενος, i.q. αὐξανόμενος, 'growing in credit,' referring to the statement at the commencement of this §. τέλος] G. § 160, 2.

28. κατεστασίασε, 'he overpowered in party-strife.' The verb καταστασιάσειν (κατά, στάσις), is a favourite one with Plutarch for 'to overpower by forming a counter party,' cf. Pericl. c. 9, 3, Mar. c. 28 p. 422 Α κατεστασίαζε τὸν Μέτελλον, Sertor. c. 4 p. 569 F Σύλλα καταστασιαντος αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσε, C. Caes. c. 14 p. 714 D καταστασιδσαι Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου, Cat. c. 29 p. 773 C Γαῖον Μεμμίου καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, Cic. c. 65 p. 884 Α τὸν Ἀντωνίων ἐξέκρουσε (Cicero) καὶ κατεστασίασε, and in the pass. below c. xi § 1 l. 3, Arist. comp. c. Cat. c. 2 p. 353 H ἐξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Sull. c. v p. 478 Α κατεστασιασμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, Dem. adv. Leoch. § 3 p. 1082.

μετέστησεν, 'caused him to retire,' a weaker expression than ἐξέβαλε. Cf. Arist. c. 7 p. 322 H δοτρακὸν λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας δὲ ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, Nic. c. 11 p. 530 B ἐνα τῶν ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ δοτράκῳ μεθιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἔτη, below 11, 1, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν Aristid. c. 8 ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον. This event happened acc. to Plutarch Arist. c. 8 in B.C. 482, acc. to Nepos Arist. 15 in B.C. 485; we should probably take the mean 484 or 483. The sentence was for 10 years, but he returned much earlier.

ἐξοστρακισθέντα, ostracismo eiectum (ἐκ, δοτρακόν); Herod. viii 79, Plat. Gorg. p. 516 D. See Dict. Antiq. p. 514 a, ed. 2.

## CHAPTER VI

§ 1. 30. τοῦ Μήδου, 'the Median king,' Xerxes, 7, 1 l. 29.

8 2. ἐκστήναι, 'stood aloof from,' 'declined to be candidates for.'

8. ἐκπεληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, 7, 8; 18, 2.

5. δυνὸν μὲν εἶπεν κ.τ.λ., 'though an able speaker (G. § 261, 1) yet faint-hearted, cowardly.'

6. τῇ ψυχῇ] G. § 188 n. 1, the dative is used instead of the accusative to avoid the awkwardness of one accusative depending on another. Cf. above 2, 1 and below 16, 2 Ἀρσάκην δυνάματι, Pericl. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ. χρημάτων ἤττονα, 'unable to resist,' 'accessible to, bribes,' 'venal,' (χρημάτων κρείττω Pericl. 15, 2.

7. ἐπίδοξον εἶναι, 'that he was expected, likely, to be successful.' Cf. Isokr. or. xx c. Loch. § 12 p. 897 d τοὺς ἐπίδοξους γυνήσασθαι πονηροῦς, Archid. § 8 ἐπίδοξος ὢν τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, i.e. being heir presumptive to this dignity, sc. the Spartan kingship, Herod. vi 12 πολλοὶ ἐπίδοξοι τῶντ' ἐπίσσεσθαι, Plut. Thes. c. 19 p. 8 B ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἅπαντας πάλιν νικήσεν ὁ Ταῦρος ἐφθονεῖτο, Num. c. 5 p. 62 B ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος αἰρῆσσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον. See Jebb's Select Attic Orat. p. 806 n.

8. οὖν] continuative.

9. τὰ πράγματα, *res publica*, 'the state.'

10. ἐμπροσθεν, G. § 183, § 278, 1, § 277, 4.

11. ἐξωήσασθαι, 'bought off,' 'bribed him to forget his ambitious projects.' χρήμασι is the dat. of means (G. § 188, 1) instead of χρημάτων the gen. of price (G. § 178). Cf. Aristot. Pol. 5, 11, 29 (p. 1815<sup>a</sup> 24) τὰς δοκούσας ἀτιμίας ἐξωνεῖσθαι μίξοσι τιμαῖς, Lys. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδ. § 16, p. 169, 89 οἱ πλοῦσιοι τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξωνοῦνται τοὺς κινδύνους, with Aristot. Oecon. ii 83 (p. 135<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> 18) χρημάτων ἐξωνοῦντο τοὺς συνειλημμένους.

§ 2. 12. τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον, 'his treatment of the man who spoke two languages, being one of those who were sent by the king to ask earth and water.' Herodotus vii c. 82 says οὐτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὐτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς γῆς αἰτησιν, and in c. 188 he tells the reason why; so that Plutarch's story is opposed to historical truth. The γῆς καὶ

*ὑδατος ἀλλοιῶσι* was tantamount to a demand for complete surrender of their people, land and cities.

14. ἐρμηνεία ὄντα, not 'although he was a herald, and as such inviolable' (*Sintenis*), but simply 'who was an interpreter.'

συλλαβῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, he had him arrested (in virtue of his authority as *στρατηγός*), and procured a decree (*ψήφισμα*) of the *ekklesia* to put him to death.

16. χρῆσαι, *utendum dare*, 'to lend,' 'put at the service of,' from *κίχρημι*, cf. *Plut. Dion. c. 22 χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῖνομα Σικελιώταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον*, *Pomp. c. 56 τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπαιτῶν δὲ ἐχρησεν αὐτῷ*. *Koraës* explains it by *μολύναι, κατασχύναι* from *χράω=χράινω*, but he does not support his explanation by any authority.

17. τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον, sc. ἐπαινείται. The infamy with which *Arthmius* of *Zeleea* (a town in the *Troad*, mentioned by *Homer II. ii 824* as the home of *Pandarus iv 103*) was branded (*σηλητής*) is frequently spoken of in terms of praise by the orators, *Dem. Philipp. iii § 42 p. 121 τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα* ('the inscription'); 'Ἀρθμιος,' φησὶν, 'ὁ Πυθώνακτος, ὁ Ζελεΐτης, ἀτίμος ἔστω καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος.' εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται δι' ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν Μήδων εἰς *Πελοπόννησον* ἤγαγεν, *de fals. leg. § 308 p. 428*, *Aesch. in Ktesiph. p. 647 § 258*, *Dinarch. c. Aristog. § 24 p. 108*, *Aristid. in Lept. p. 168 ed. Wolf*. *Plutarch* is the only writer who states that it was *Themistokles* who proposed the decree (*εἶπε*).

18. καὶ τοῦτον, 'him also,' as the interpreter before him. *Arthmius* could not be made *ἀτίμος* in the ordinary sense of forfeiting the franchise, because he was not an Athenian. The sentence against him and his family was one of outlawry, so that *καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινα ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι*. The omission of the article before *γένος* in this formula is not exceptional, but regular and may be classed under the head of enumeration. *Madvig Gr. Synt. § 8 B. 2 e. Cobet v. l. p. 371* thinks that the words *καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ* ought to be struck out 'ne perinepte bis idem dicatur.' εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐνέγραψαν, in *retulit* 'entered on the disfranchised list.'

19. τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν—ἐκόμισε, for τὸν Μήδων χρυσὸν ἐκ Μήδων ἐκόμισε by a very common attraction, when the relation belonging to the noun, being attracted by the verb, becomes the relation of that verb. Thus Thuc. v 35 ὁ ἐκείθεν πόλεμος δεῦρο ἦξει=ὁ ἐκεῖ πόλεμος ἦξει ἐκείθεν δεῦρο, Theophr. Charact. ii 4 ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης for ἄρας τι τῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἀπὸ τῆς τρ., Plato Phaed. § 134 οἱ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰχθύες ἀνακύπτουσι. See Heindorf, Gorg. c. 61 p. 79, Phaed. c. 57 p. 92.

20. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων, sc. αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, 'is his greatest achievement of all,' the subject being the clause τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἑ. π. κ. τ. λ., G. § 259 n. As to the statement, cf. Herod. vii 145 who says that the greatest of these wars was that between Athens and Aegina; he does not however name Themistokles in connexion with it. The feud was terminated by the Panhellenic congress at the Isthmus of Corinth; see Grote *Hist. Gr.* vol. v. c. 39.

21. τὰς ἰχθύας—ἀναβαλίσθαι, 'to defer their feuds because of the war with Persia,' not 'until after the Persian war' (Stewart).

22. πρὸς δ, 'towards which object.' Χεῖλεον] Cheileos of Tegea in Arcadia, the same who by his judicious advice in B.C. 479 induced the Spartans to march to Plataeae, Herod. ix 9.

## CHAPTER VII

§ 1. 26. παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, 'when he succeeded to the office of general.' ἐπεχείρει] of a continued and repeated act. ἔπειθεν, 'sought to persuade,' 'urged,' G. § 200 note 2. So Schaefer and Blass, but Sintenis reads ἐπεισε, 'persuaded.'

28. ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 'as far as possible from Hellas,' G. § 182, 2.

29. τῷ βαρβάρῳ] like τοῦ Μήδου § 6, 1.

30. ἐνισταμένων πολλῶν, 'because many opposed him,' c. 3 § 2.

9 1. εἰς τὰ Τέμνη, ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηριεὶὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε οὐρέος ἴοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης, Herod. vii 173.

2. ὥς, expresses the motive he had for going there. Cf. c. 4 § 3 l. 26. αὐτόθι=αὐτοῦ *ibi*, as often in Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides. προκινδυνεύουσόντων] G. § 277, 3.

3. μηδίζεν, 'to declare for the Medes' )( ἐλληνίζεν. Cf. φιλιππίζω, Dem. 287, 1.

4. ἀπρακτοί, *re infecta*, 'without accomplishing their object.'

5. βασιλεῖ] The article is nearly always omitted when the Persian king is meant, Madv. Synt. § 8 R. 2 b. It is used in 23, 2; 26, 1; 28, 1; 29, 3.

ἐμηδίζε] G. § 135, 2.

6. μᾶλλον προσείχον] 2, 4.

8. ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον] 8, 2. τὰ στενὰ, 'the straits.' Thuc. ii 86, 3; 90, 1. φυλάζων] G. § 277, 3.

§ 2. 9. τῶν Ἑλλήνων] all except the Athenians, Ag. 14, 2. Herodotus viii 3 puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistokles in connexion with it at all. Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Δακεδαμονίους] the whole subjoined to the part; cf. Thuc. i 80, 2 τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, 116, 3 ὅρχετο ἐπὶ Καΐνου καὶ Κάρλας, iii 51, 2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ Σαλαμῖνος, *ib.* 33, 1 τῷ Πάχχηι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Arist. Nub. 413 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, Plut. 895 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί. Similarly in Latin Hor. Sermon. ii 7, 36 *Mulvius et scurrae*, Liv. 9 15 *an consilium Papirique praecipuum id decus sit*, 30, 12 *misso Syphace et captivis*, 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos*, and in English, e.g. Spenser *F. Q.* iv 2, 51, 9 'not all the gods can change nor Iove himself can free,' where see Upton's note. Cf. Drakenborch on Liv. iii 25, 4.

10. 5τι πλήθε] On the grounds of the pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus they had 127 themselves, and the Chalcidians had lent 20: the whole amounted to 271.

11. *δοῦ τι*, *circiter*, 'nearly,' 'almost,' to be taken with *σύμπαντας*.

12. *οὐκ ἀξιούντων*, 'thinking it unbecoming' (*οὐκ ἀξίον*), 'resolving not.' *Οὐκ ἀξιῶ*, *indignum iudico, nolo*, like *οὐ φημι*, *οὐκ ἐῷ*, corresponds to a single negative verb in English. Cf. Thucyd. iv 86, 2 *οὐκ οὖν ἀξιῶ οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ὑποπτεύεσθαι*, i 102, 4 *δεινὸν ποιήσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν*, ii 89, iii 44, 4; 61, 2, viii 73. *συνιδὼν*, 'seeing at a glance,' i.e. taking a comprehensive view of, cf. 8, 2; 14, 2.

14. *παρήκε*, *cessit*, 'gave up his claims.'

15. *ἂν ἀγαθοὶ γίνωνται*, 'should they prove themselves brave men.'

16. *παρέξαν*, 'that he would make Greeks thenceforth cheerfully recognise their supremacy.'

17. *διὸ καὶ*, 'it is on this account in fact.' [*δοκεῖ*] 2, 6.

19. *ὡς ἀνδρεῖα μὲν κτλ*] Cf. Isokr. Panegy. § 72 f, imitated by Lykurg. c. Leokr. § 70 (330 B.C.), *μόνοι ἀμφοτέρων περιγεγόνασι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἑκατέρων προσῆκε, τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ μαχόμενοι νικῶντες*, Aristides Panath. i *ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας ἀνέλιοντο σαφέστατα τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς τοῖς δπλοῖς, τῇ δ' ἐπικειρά τοὺς φίλους ἐνίκησαν*. They were *ἀνδρεώτεροι* than their enemies, *εὐγνωμονέστεροι*, 'more sensible,' 'considerate' than their allies.

§ 3. Herod. viii 4. 21. *ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς προσμίζαντος*, 'when it arrived at Aphetae,' Thuc. i 46 *ἐπειδὴ προσέμειξαν τῇ κατὰ Κερκύραν ἡπείρῳ*, vii 29, G. § 186. Aphetae was a port of Magnesia in Thessaly, occupied by the Persian fleet before the battle of Artemisium, which lay opposite to it (*κατὰ στόμα*), Herod. viii 11.

23. *ἐκπλαγεῖς—τὸ πλῆθος*] 13, 2.

24. *ἄλλας διακοσίας*, 'two hundred more sail,' Herod. viii 7.



9 1. εἰς τὰ Τέμπη, ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρεי παρὰ Πηγεῖον ποταμόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε οὐρεὺς ἴοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης, Herod. vii 173.

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§ 2. 9. τῶν Ἑλλήνων] all except the Athenians, Ag. 14, 2. Herodotus viii 3 puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistokles in connexion with it at all. Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Δακεδαίμονιους] the whole subjoined to the part; cf. Thuc. i 80, 2 τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, 116, 3 ὥχοντο ἐπὶ Καύκον καὶ Κάριας, iii 51, 2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ Σαλαμῖνος, ib. 33, 1 τῷ Πάχτη καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Arist. Nub. 413 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, Plut. 895 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί. Similarly in Latin Hor. Serm. ii 7, 36 *Mulvius et scurrae*, Liv. 9 15 *an consulum Papirique praecipuum id decus sit*, 30, 12 *misso Syphace et captivis*, 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos*, and in English, e.g. Spenser F. Q. iv 2, 51, 9 'not all the gods can change nor Iove himself can free,' where see Upton's note. Cf. Drakenborch on Liv. iii 25, 4.

10. ὅτι πλήθε] On the grounds of the pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus they had 127 themselves, and the Chalcidians had lent 20: the whole amounted to 271.

§ 2. δ δὴ συνιδών, 'it was this, you know, which Pindar, as it seems, comprehended, when he wrote about the battle at Artemisium,' in reference to τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα ὤνησαν. 'Monstrat addita particula δὴ quasi rem, de qua plane iam constet, ac leniter admonet de causa manifesta auditorem.' Klotz ad Devar. II p. 404. οὐ κακῶς is a litotes for εἰς or καλῶς. τοῖς (3, 27) belongs in sense to the participle.

1. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης] 3, 3 n. ἐπὶ = *super*, 'in 11 relation to,' 'in the case of,' 'concerning,' after verbs of seeing, judging, proving and saying. Xen. Mem. III 9, 8 ὁρῶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ φύσει διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, II 3, 2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι, and frequently in Aristotle.

3. οἷ = οὐ, 'where.' So αὐτόθι for αὐτοῦ *passim*. παῖδες Ἀθηναίων] like Homer's υἱες Ἀχαιῶν and Herodotus' παῖδες Λυδῶν (I 27). ἐβάλοντο κρηπίδα, 'laid the foundation.' Cf. Pyth. IV 138 βάλλετο κρηπίδα σοφῶν ἐπέων, VII 3 κρηπίδ' αἰοδῶν ἱπποῖσι βαλέσθαι.

5. ἀρχή—τὸ θαρρεῖν] sc. ἐστὶ, G. § 141 n. 6, n. 8.

6. τῆς Εὐβοίας] gen. of the divided whole, G. § 167, 6. ὑπὲρ] i.e. further from the mainland of Hellas and nearer the Aegean Sea, 7, 3.

7. ἀναπεπταμένος, partic. perf. pass. from ἀναπεπτα-  
νυμι, 'lying open to,' 'facing.' Cf. Plutarch Erot. c. 6 τῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης διατριβῆς, Arrian exp. 2, 6, 4 πεδίον πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον, Kyneg. c. 17 οἱ ἐν τοῖς περιφάνεσι καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τὰς εὐνὰς ἔχοντες, Xen. hist. gr. 4, 1, 15 θῆραι αἱ μὲν ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπτα-  
μένοις τόποις, Oec. 9, 4 ἐπέδειξα τὴν οἰκίαν ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται. See also n. to 21, 3. ἀνταίρᾳ, *contra assurgit*, 'rises over against,' or 'in the same parallel with': cf. Aem. c. 6 τὰ πρὸς τὴν Δίβυην ἀνταίροντα.

8. τῆς χώρας] as above l. 6. Olizon (the 'lesser town' from ὀλιγ(ων) was in Magnesia in Thessaly; it is mentioned by Homer as being part of the dominions of Philoctetes (II. II 717). μέλιστα] 'about,' 'pretty near.'

25. ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου=ἐξωθεν Σκ. Herod. l. c., 'beyond, outside of Skiathos,' which was an island off Magnesia, N.E. of Euboea. This squadron was detached to sail round Euboea and up the strait from the south, so as to take the Greeks in the rear.

26. τὴν ταχίστην, sc. ὁδόν, G. § 160, 2. εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος=εἶσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Herod. viii 4.

27. ἀψασθαι Πελοποννήσου, 'to reach the Peloponnese.'

28. προσπεριβαλέσθαι, 'to surround, as with an additional (πρός) protection.'

29. ἀπρόσμαχον, 'irresistible,' G. § 138 R. τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν] G. § 141 n. 3.

30. δεισαντες] the principal sentence begins here.

10 1. σφᾶς] indirect reflexive, G. § 144, 2 (a). πρόωνται] Why not πρόωντο or προείντο? See G. p. 176 n. and § 218. κρύφα διαλέγοντο, 'made secret proposals to.'

2. Παράγοντα] no name is given by Herodotus for this and other particulars. Plutarch therefore must have borrowed his account from Phanias of Lesbos, concerning whom see below l. 18 and Introduction.

χρημάτων] 30 talents according to Herodotus.

3. ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορῇκε] Plutarch misrepresents Herod., who says (viii 5) that Them. gave Eurybiades 5 talents, Adeimantus the Corinthian 3, and kept the remaining 22 himself, (αὐτὰς ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων).

4. τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην] this, as is often the case in later Greek, may mean no more than Eurybiades himself, though it may also include Adeimantus.

§ 4. Story about Architeles, taken from Phanias of Lesbos.

5. τῶν πολιτῶν may be either the partitive genitive 'one of his fellow-citizens,' or gen. after μάιστα (G. § 168) 'more than any other of his fellow-citizens.'

8. κατὰ τῶν λίθων, 'on (lit. from top to bottom) the stones which he found there'; the article anticipates the explanation given by τοὺς μὲν—τοὺς δέ. The inscription is given by Herodotus VIII 22: "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποίετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε, εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δύνατον ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποίειν. εἰ δὲ μῆδερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέγιστος κατέξενυθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἑπεὶ οὐ συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνετε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἐχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ἡμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.

4. ἐπιφανῇ γράμματα, 'a conspicuous inscription.'

6. ὕδρειας, 'watering-stations.' The word means properly *aquatatio*, 'fetching water,' as in Thuc. VII 13 τῶν ναυτῶν διὰ φρυγανισμῶν καὶ ἀρπαγῇ καὶ ὕδρειαν μακρὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολλυμένων, Plut. Sert. c. 13 p. 874 D ὕδρειας ἀπέκοπτε. ἐπισκῆπτων, a strong expression, 'conjuring.'

7. οἶόν τε] sc. ἐστὶ, 16, 2.

μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, 'to change their places and side with them.'

8. πατέρας] The Ionian states regarded Athens as their mother state.

9. κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικόν, 'to do mischief to the army of the barbarians.' Herodotus has ἐθελοκακέω = 'to fight backwardly,' 'to play the coward on purpose.'

10. ταῦτα, sc. τὰ γράμματα.

12. ὑποποτότερος, act. 'suspicious.' Herod. I. c. ἵνα ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη. The result, as recorded by the historian, was that ἠθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ.

§ 2. 13. ἄνωθεν] from Oeta.

14. πυρπολοῦντος] Herod. VIII. 32 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα.—ὁκόσα δὲ ἔπρασχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

15. προσήμναν, *open tulcrum, propugnaculum*, Hom. Il. v 139, Plut. Sertor. c. 18 p. 577 *τὰ παρὼν ἐγγὺς οὐ προσήμνεν*, Mar. c. 39 p. 233 *Διέφθειραν αὐτὸν καὶ προσήμνεν οὐδείς τῶν παρόντων*, Cat. c. 44 p. 780 *τὴν κινδυνεύοντα στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ μὴ προσαμύναντας*. In the other passages where it is used by Plutarch it is followed by the dative as in Rom. c. 25 p. 33 v.

16. εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, 'to go to Boeotia to meet him and make a stand in defence of (πρὸ) Attica.'

18. ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἐβοήθησαν, 'had gone to Artemisium to help them.' *μηδενός* for *οὐδενός*, *μὴ* being used for *οὐ* in Plutarch and later writers with participles even when they do not express a condition, but only time, cause, opposition or any attendant circumstance.

19. περιεχομένων, 'when all clung to the Peloponnesus,' Herod. viii 40 *περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους (τὴν Πελοπόννησον) περιεῖναι*. Cf. Herod. i 71 *γενεσάμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέζονται* (*nolent ea e manibus dimittere*), iii 72 *πάντων περιεχόμεθα*. vii 160 *δοκὸς ὑμεῖς περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης*, Plut. quaest. conv. vi 3, c. 2 p. 689 *οἱ τοῖς πόροις τούτοις ὧν ἐνιοὶ περιέχονται*, ix 4 c. 2 p. 739 *οἱ τὴν ἐρρωμενεστέρην χεῖρα καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Αἰγείου περιεχομένην*, de Herod. mal. c. 35 p. 868 *Διούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασέων περιεχόμενον*, adv. Col. c. 27 p. 1123 *Διὸς φύσει περιέχεσθαι τὰ τεκόντα τῶν γεναμένων*, Thes. comp. c. Rom. c. 2 p. 37 *εὖ σώζεται δὲ (ἡ ἀρχὴ) οὐχ ἥττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος*. πάντων is implied in *μηδενός*, as in Fab. Max. c. 11: *οὐδενός ἐν χώρᾳ μένειν τολμῶντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ὠθυμένων*.

20. ὀρμημένον, 'having determined.'

21. διατεχιζόντων τὸν Ἴσθμόν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, 'were building a wall across the Isthmus from sea to sea' i.e. from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf.

22. ὁργὴ εἶχε—τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, = ὁργὴν εἶχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. *τῆς προδοσίας*] G. § 167, 3.

**24.** κατήφεια, 'dejection,' 'mental depression,' a favourite word with Plutarch.

Cf. Cam. c. 20 p. 223 D τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἄχος ἔσχε καὶ κατήφεια μεταμελομήνην, Lys. c. 11 p. 45 B αἰδῶς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἔσχε τοὺς ἰδόντας, Num. c. 10 p. 66 B μετανοίει καὶ κατηφέει συνοῦσαι, Public. c. 6, Sol. cum Public. comp. c. 1, Fab. Max. c. 18, Alcib. c. 14 p. 128 B τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ἐκπληξίαι εἶχε καὶ κατήφεια, Aem. Paul. c. 22 p. 267 A κατήφεια δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κραυγὴ κατέειχεν, Pelop. 33 p. 296 C, Philop. c. 21 p. 308 B τὰς πόλεις κοινὴ κατήφεια καὶ πένθος εἶχεν, Mar. c. 29 p. 422 B τοὺς ἀρίστους κατήφεια δεινὴ καὶ μῖσος ἔσχε, ib. c. 41 p. 480 A, C. Caes. c. 60 p. 736 B, Dio c. 51 p. 980 B, Anton. c. 40 p. 934 B, etc.

§ 3. μὲν οὖν, *itaque*, 'and so' in continuation of the narrative.

**25.** οὐ διενοοῦντο] Cobet says: 'reponendum de more Graecorum οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο, *ne cogitabant quidem*.'

μυριάσι τοσαύταις, 'with so many myriads': *μυρίας*=the number of 10,000, is sometimes used of 'countless numbers.'

**26.** ἐν τῇ παρόντι, 'under the circumstances.'

**27.** ἐμψύναι, 'to cling closely to,' 'to stick to.'

Plut. praec. ger. c. 12, 7 p. 806 B τούτων οὖν ἔχεσθαι δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτοις ἐμψέσθαι, Cam. c. 35 p. 147 C, Philop. c. 4 p. 358 A τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀναγνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Ἐθαγγέλου τακτικαῖς ἐνεψέτο ('pinned his belief to'), Timol. c. 21 p. 246 C ἐμπεφυκότες οἱ κατεῖχε μέρσει, Pyrrh. c. 6 p. 386 A ἐμψύναι τοῖς Μακεδόνων πράγμασιν, Pomp. c. 66 p. 654 B ταῖς χερσὶν ἐμψύναι, Tib. Gracch. c. 6 p. 826 B, Ant. c. 77 p. 951 B, Alex. c. 16 p. 672 B ἐμψύει τῇ διαβάσει, Cat. c. 29 p. 778 D ἐνεψέτο τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Κλέωνος, c. 49 p. 783 B Καίσαρος ἐμπεφυκότες τοῖς στρατευμασιν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐχόμενον, Dem. c. 30 p. 859 B ἐμπεφυκότες αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου, Arist. c. 50 p. 1080 B ληστοὶ γὰρ ἐμψύονται πέτραις καὶ κρημνῶν περιέχονταί, Cato min. c. 4 τοῖς ἡθικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἐνεψέτο δόγμασι.

χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, 'were loth to hear.'

**28.** μήτε δέομενοι] see above, § 2 l. 18: they did not care for victory at such a price, they knew no salvation under such circumstances.

**29.** προμμένων, 'if they had to abandon,' genitive abs. for which the nom. partic. would have been used, had not another partic. preceded. ἡγά, 'tombs.'

## CHAPTER X

- 13 § 1. 1. ἀπορῶν—προσάγεσθαι 'being at a loss how to bring over to his own point of view,' 'despairing of influencing the populace, by human reasoning.' τοῖς] those hitherto employed by him.

3. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ] i.e. just as in a tragic performance a dramatist has recourse to supernatural machinery for solving a difficulty (*deus ex machina*), cf. c. 32. μηχανήν δρας] Pollux 4, 128 ἡ μηχανὴ δὲ θεοῦς δεικνυσὶ καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐν αἰέρι, Βελλεροφόντας ἡ Περσεύας.

4. ἐπήγεν αὐτοῖς, 'brought to bear on them,' as it were some engine of war, Marc. c. 15 ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἐπήγε μηχανήν. σημεῖον λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος] σημεῖον serves as the predicate noun and must also be understood with δράκοντος, 'taking for a portent that of the serpent (*Blass*), not the incident of the serpent' *der Vorfall mit (Sintenis)*. Cf. Her. viii 14, 2 οἱ χρησμολόγοι ταύτη ταῦτα λαμβάνον.

6. δοκεῖ γενέσθαι] 8, 3 l. 22. The story is found in Herod. viii 41: λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅφω μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδαιτέεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ (i.e. in the sanctuary (*σηκός*) of Athēna Polias which lay between the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum). λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια (*menstrua cibaria*) ἐπιτελέουσι (*sacra petagunt*) προτιθέντες (*appropinques*). τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια, μελιτέσσα ('honey-cake') ἐστὶ. αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτέσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμονύμενη, τότε ἦν ἀφανστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς λερείης μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεᾷ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Cf. Arist. Lysist. 760.

8. ἀπαρχὰς, pr. 'the firstlings for sacrifice,' hence generally 'offering,' in this case the honey-cake which was daily served to the serpent (καθ' ἡμέραν προτιθεμένη). ἀψαύστος, predicate adjective, G. § 138 B. ἐξηγγέλλον, 'made known the secret.'

10. λόγον διδόντος, 'giving the explanation' of the phenomenon. Cf. Plato Phaed. p. 95 D τῷ μὴ εἰδότε λόγον διδόναι (rationem reddere) ὡς κ.τ.λ. Cobet reads διαδόντος, for, says he, *famam sparserat Themistocles non rationes reddiderat.*

11. ὑφ' ἡγουμένη—αὐτοῖς, *ducem se praebens*—eis, 'showing them the way.'

§ 2. τῷ χρησμῷ, given in full in 12 lines by Herod. vii 141:

τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων...  
 τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ Εὐρυππα Ζεὺς,  
 μῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν  
 ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

πάλιν, because the oracle had been delivered some time before, and he had already given this interpretation of it.

12. ἐθημαγῶγα, sc. αὐτοῖς, 'he sought to bend to his will,' not altogether without a dash of its usual meaning 'to talk over,' 'win by popular arts.'

13. δηλοῦσθαι, *pass. significari, declarari.*

14. σχετλίαν, 'sad.' Them. ap. Herod. vii 143 εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐὼν κως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι ἀλλὰ ὥδε; Ὡ σχετλίη Σαλαμίς, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὡ θεῖη Σαλαμίς, εἶπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσιν.

15. ὡς ἔσομένην, because he thought it would be: see above 4, 3; 7, 1.

16. ἐπώνυμον, 'giving its name to,' as ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, the chief archon, was so called because 'he gave his name to' the current year, and οἱ ἐπώνυμοι ἦρωες were the heroes who gave their names to the ten Attic φυλαί; the word means also 'named after.'

16. κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ, 'when he had gained his point.'



17. **ψήφισμα γράφει**, literally 'writes down a bill,' i.e. brings in a bill (*suadet legem*) for ratification (*κυροῦν*) in the *ekklesia*. See Dict. Antiqq. 442 b, 805 b. Cobet thinks that the words of the decree are more likely to be given by Aristoteles II p. 256 ed. Dindorf (Θεμιστοκλῆς) *γράφει ψήφισμα τοῦτο τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζήνα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριῆρεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζέσθαι.*

**παρακαταθέσθαι κτλ.**, 'to give in trust to the tutelary goddess of Athens.' Cf. Quintilian inst. or. IX 2, 82 *Themistocles suasisse existimatur Atheniensibus, ut urbem apud deos deponerent, quia durum erat dicere ut relinquerent.*

18. **τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσῃ**, probably a quotation from the psephism, the phraseology of which was, as usual, archaic.

19. **τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ**, 'those of an age fit to serve,' 'able-bodied.'

20. **παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα**] in English we say either 'children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children and wives and slaves,' or 'their children, their wives and their slaves,' but in enumeration in Greek the article must be used with each noun or may be omitted altogether. Cf. 6, 2 and see Middleton Grk Article p. 99.

**ὡς δυνατόν**, sc. *ἐστίν*.

§ 3. 22. **οἱ πλείστοι**] acc. to Herod. VIII 41, some went to Aegina, others to Salamis. **ὑπέξθεντο**, 'conveyed safely away' out of the reach of danger. Cf. Thuc. I 89, 3 *διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπέξθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν*, Eur. Androm. 69 *τὸν παῖδά σου μέλλουσι... κτείνειν ὃν ἔξω δωμάτων ὑπέξέθεντο*.

23. **γονέας καὶ γυναῖκας**] see n. to § 21. 20. **Τροιζήνα**] Troezen was a very ancient city, the capital of a small district in the S. E. angle of Argolis on the Saronic Gulf, opposite Aegina. It was the birthplace and home of Theseus (Eur. Hipp. 1097). Its inhabitants sent five ships of war to Salamis, and 1000 hoplites to Plataea.

23. φιλοτίμως πάνυ, 'quite eagerly,' 'with great emulation.'

25. δημοσίᾳ, publice, publicis sumptibus, 'at the public expense.' Thuc. II 34, 46, III 58, VII 67, VI 27. δύο ὀβολοῖς, i.e. two obols daily. The Athenian dikasts received three obols (τριώβολον) a day (Perikl. 9, 3). ἐκάστη, to each head of a family.

26. τῆς ὁπώρας λαμβάναν, 'to pick the fruit,' Gr. 170 § 1. Cf. Plut. quæst. conv. IV 6, 2 p. 671 D τραπεζᾶς προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὁπώρας, i.e. 'of all kinds of fruit,' V 8, 1 p. 683 B παρατεθείσης παντοδαπῆς ὁπώρας, VI 7, 1 τοὺς δρεπομένους τὴν ἀμπελίην ὁπώραν, XVIII 10, 3 p. 784 C κατηγορούσης τῶν νεῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῆς φύλης ὁπώρας, amat. 5, 11 γλυκεῖ ὁπώρα φύλακος ἐκλελοιπότες, de sol. anim. c. 16 p. 972 A ἀνάπλεως τῆς ὁπώρας, Thea. p. 10 D συγκομιζομένης ὁπώρας, Sol. p. 87 B λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὁπώραν, Cat. ma. p. 351 E περὶ τηρήσεως ὁπώρας γέγραφε, Kim. c. 10 p. 484 D τῶν ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφείλαν, ἵνα τοῖς δοουμένοις ὑπερέχη λαμβάνειν τῆς ὁπώρας, Alex. p. 693 D ὁπώραν Ἑλληνιστῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεὶ κομίζοντες. Μετοπώραν would be the Greek for 'in autumn-time.'

τοὺς παῖδας] subject to the inf. λαμβάνειν. It might also have been τοῖς παισὶν ἐξείναι.

27. ἐξάναι, licere, inf. dep. on ἐψηφίσαντο.

28. Νυκαγόρας] they sought and found in the name a good omen.

29. οὐκ ὄντων δημοσίων χρημάτων] Cobet says that χρήματα δημόσια can only mean pecunia quae aerario debetur, and that therefore we should read ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, in aerario.

30. τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν, 'the council of Areopagus,' called also ἡ ἄνω βουλή, which, as reformed by Solon, consisted of those who had performed the duties of archon unexceptionably. Independently of its jurisdiction as a criminal court in cases of wilful murder, it possessed extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. Plut. Solon c. 19 τὴν δ' ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοὶ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὁρμούσαν ἦττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐσσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον παρέχειν. From the present passage it has been concluded that its authority extended to the public finances also, but it is more

probable that they had a treasury of their own, which enabled them to advance pay to the seamen at this crisis. Thirlwall *Hist. Gr.* Vol. III App. 1. Cf. Cic. de off. i § 75 et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiuerit, at ille vere ab se adiutum Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus.

14 1. πορίσασαν, 'by providing,' G. § 277, 2.

2. αἰτιωτάτην, 'the chief cause.'

3. τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, 'of the ships being manned,' G. § 262, 2. A 'ship's crew' is in Greek πλῆρωμα. Κλειδῆμος] We cannot fix the exact date when Cleidemus flourished. Athenaeus ascribes to him a work entitled 'Arθίς, the subject of which seems to have been the history and antiquities of Attica, also νόστοι and πρωτογονία and ἐξηγητικός, which appears to have been an antiquarian treatise in verse on religious rites and ceremonies.

§ 4. 4. ποιεῖται, 'considers,' 'reckons,' 'represents, as his own opinion,' cf. Marius i p. 406, 13 τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνωρύμους ποιεῖται τὰς γυναῖκας. στρατήγημα, 'a piece of generalship,' hence generally 'any artifice.' G. § 137 n. 4.

5. Παραιῶ] G. § 53, 3 note 3.

6. τὸ Γοργόνειον, 'the Gorgon's head,' from the old statue of Athene in the Erechtheum. Such statues they would naturally take with them.

8. [ἡτεῖν] sc. τὸ Γοργόνειον. χρημάτων πλήθος, 'a great amount of money.' Thuc. i 9, 2, Plat. Phaedr. p. 279 c χρυσοῦ πλήθος. ἀνευρίσκειν, not ἀνευρεῖν, because he found it several times.

9. ἀποσκευαῖς, sarcinis, impeditentis, 'baggage.' Polyb. hist. i 66, 7 βουλόμενον αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἀποσκευάς, 9 ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀποσκευάς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπαγαγεῖν; 68, 3; III 35, 5, Plut. Marc. c. 11 p. 303 E. Alex. c. 24 p. 878 A ἐλαβεν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς. The sing. is more frequently used by Plutarch.

**10.** εἰς μέσον, *in medium* (Virgil, *Georg.* i. 127), *in commune*, 'before the public,' 'as common property.' Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* ii 1, 14 καταθεῖς τὰ δπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον, *Oecon.* 7, 26 τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέροις κατέθηκεν, *Plato Phileb.* c. 4 p. 14 B μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, κατατιθέντες δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον, *de legg.* ix c. 9 p. 719 A βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θεῖναι. εὐπορῆσαι ἐφόδιον, 'they had abundance of necessaries,' not 'he supplied the crew with abundance' (*Stewart*), which would require εὐπορῆσαι τοῖς ἐμβαλόνουσιν ἐφόδια. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i 6, 19 σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, *Vectig.* vi 1 ὁ δῆμος τροφῆς εὐπορήσει, *rep. Lac.* xi 2 πάντων τούτων εὐποροῦσι, *Lucian Anach.* c. 9 εὐπορῆσαι μῆλων, *Lys. de Arist. bon.* p. 154, 15 χρημάτων εὐπορήσειν. ἐφόδια = *lat. viaticum*, 'supplies for travelling,' 'money and provisions.'

§ 5. **11.** ἐκπλεούσης τῆς πόλεως, emphatically, 'as the whole city put to sea.'

**12.** θέαμα] subj. of παρῆχε.

**13.** θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης, 'admiration of their courage,' object to παρῆχε. G. § 167, 3. γενεάς, 'families,' i.e. wife and children, a common meaning in *Plutarch*, not noticed in *Liddell-Scott*.

Cf. *Pomp.* c. 28 p. 933 C οἱ πλείστοι γενεάς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἀχρηστον ὄχλον ἐν φρουρίοις εἶχον ἀποκείμενα, *C. Caesar* c. 20 p. 717 F γενεάς καὶ κτήσεις ἐν τινι βυθῷ τῆς ὕλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι, *de Herod. mal.* c. 84 ὅπως ὑπεκθοῖντο γενεάς καὶ τὸ οἰκετικόν, *Timol.* c. 4 μετοικεῖν πρὸς Συρακοσίους χρήματα καὶ γενεάς ἀποδιδόντες, *Polyb. Hist.* 20, 6, 6 πολλοὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεάς ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συσσιτίοις τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, *Dionys. H. A. B.* 2 15 ἀπασαν ἀρρενα γενεὰν ἐκτρέφειν.

προπεμπόντων, 'as they escorted them on their road elsewhere,' G. § 183.

**14.** αὐτῶν δ' ἀκράπτων, *sc. ὄντων*, 'while they themselves remained unbending,' 'undisturbed.' Cf. *vit. Lysurg.* c. 11 τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀκαμπτον.

**15.** γονέων, parents, the aged folk who were left behind.

περιβολάς, 'embraces,' Xen. *Cyr.* vii 3 (*de sugentibus catellis*) τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αἱ

περιβολαί φιλαι, Plut. C. Gracch. c. 15 p. 841 π ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς, Anton. i 49 p. 939 β πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ἐτράποντο, Dio c. 46 p. 978 ρ χαρὰν καὶ περιβολὰς ἐργῶ τηλικούτῳ πρεπούσας οὐ πάρεσχεν ὁ καιρὸς.

16. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'and yet,' 'though,' as corrective of the previous statement, i 1, 8. πολλοί—τῶν πολιτῶν] G. § 168.

17. ὤλον εἶχον, 'excited pity.' So συγγνώμην εἶχεν, αἰτίαν εἶχεν 21, 3; πίστιν εἶχεν 12, 3; δόξαν εἶχεν 18, 2.

18. συντροφῶν, 'domestic.' Xen. Mem. ii 3, 4 πρὸς φίλων μέγα ὑπάρχει τὸ ὁμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόθος τις ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντροφῶν, Plut. Aem. Paul. c. 10 p. 260 β 'οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα' ἐφῆ 'ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθνηκε;' λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον, Her. ii 65 τὰ μὲν (θηρία) σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, Pausan. vii 13, 2 οὐτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτό (lupus) ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον.

19. γλυκυθυμία, 'fondness,' 'tenderness of feeling'; ἐπικλώσα, 'heart-moving, touching,' 'making their hearts yearn.' Cf. Thuc. iii 59 ἐπικλασθήναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἰκτῶ σώφρονι λαβόντας, 67, 2 μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετὰς...ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθήτε, Plut. Pericl. c. 37 p. 172 F ἡ παρούσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ... ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, Demosth. c. 22 p. 856 ο ὀρώντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθελύνοντα...πρὸς οἶκτον, Marcell. c. 20 p. 310 A ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀφῆκε πάντας, ib. c. 20 p. 311 π, Lys. c. 15 p. 441 π, Alex. c. 62 p. 700 A, Demetr. c. 47 p. 912 c, Anton. c. 18 p. 923 D, c. 33 p. 931 F. μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου, 'with yearning howls,' 'with whining and pining.' Zenodotus ap. Valckenaer ad Ammon. p. 283 ὠρυγῇ κυρίως ἢ τῶν κυνῶν φωνή, καὶ ὠρύεσθαι, 'ὡς λύκος ὠρυοίμην' παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ, ὠρύεσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ λύκων εἶπεν. Cf. Theocr. Id. 2, 85 τὰς κύνες ἀμμὶν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται.

20. συμπαράθεντων, 'as they ran along with them.' Demosth. Phil. i § 41 p. 53 εἰν ἐν Πύλαις ἐκείσε, εἰν ἀλλοθὲ που, συμπαράθεῖτε ἀνω κάτω.

**21.** ἐν οἷς, sc. ζῴοις.

23. ἐναλίσθαι, 'jumped into the sea.' G. § 187.  
τῇ τριήρει] G. § 187.

24. ἐκπεσεῖν, an expressive word, as here, 'was drifted,'  
'cast ashore' rather than 'swam,' 18, 1. So Hom. Odyss. 7, 283  
ἐκ δ' ἐπεσον θυμηγερέων. οὖ] gen. after τάφον.

## CHAPTER XI

§ 1. 28. Cf. Arist. c. 8. The τε answers to καί before  
τοὺς πολίτας, for which the regular construction should have  
been καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πολ. or τὸ αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς π., 'these, then, were  
Themistokles' great achievements as also was this, that &c.';  
instead of which an independent construction is used. For  
the position of the genitive cf. below 6, 2, Kimon c. v 1 τὰ δ'  
ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἥθους ἀγαστὰ καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος, Philop.  
c. 13 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος.

29. αἰσθόμενος ποδοῦντας] G. § 280.

30. τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεῖς ἑαυτὸν] Arist. l. c. μὴ προσθε-  
μενος τοῖς πολεμοῖσι διαφθείρη καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν  
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον.

μὴ—ἀνατρέψῃ, 'lest he should upset,' 'ruin,' G. § 218. Cf.  
Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 94, 8 εἰς ποῖα οὗτος πράγματα εἰσελθὼν  
ἡ ἴδια ἡ κοινὰ οὐκ ἀνατέτραφεν; Dem. c. Aristog. i § 32 p. 779,  
26: τίς ἂν ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἀνατρέψειε τὴν πόλιν;

1. τὰ πράγματα] 6, 1.

15

3. καταστασιασθεῖς, see above 5, 4 l. 28 n. According to  
Plut. Arist. c. 8 Aristides was ostracised Ol. 74, 2 = B.C. 483,  
according to Nepos his ostracism was in Ol. 73, 4 = B.C. 485,  
his recall in Ol. 75, 1 = B.C. 480.

4. γράφει ψήφισμα, 'moves (lit. 'pens' c. 10 § 2) a  
decree.' From Arist. l. c. it would appear that Themistokles  
himself was not the mover of the decree, and it is a question  
whether Plutarch found this in his authorities. A decree of  
the people, by which the ἄτιμοι (6, 2) were restored and exiles  
recalled, is mentioned by Andokides de mysteriis § 77 and § 107

ἐγνώσαν τοὺς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers and tyrants however were excluded from the amnesty (Andoc. § 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment, τοὺς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν, cf. 5, 4. For ἐπὶ χρόνῳ Cobet would read ἐπὶ χρόνον.

8. κατελθούσι, 'on their return from exile': Herod. v 30 εἰς κως κατέλθοιεν εἰς ἐαντῶν, Thuc. i 113, 4 οἱ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες...αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο, iv 66, 3 τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν. So κατὰγειν means *reducere in patriam*, 'to recal from banishment,' in Herod., Thuc., Plato, Xen., Plutarch. πράττειν καὶ λέγειν] subject of ἐξείναι, G. § 259. The two verbs combined indicate full political privileges.

§ 2. 8. δῖωμα, dignitas, 'rank,' 'consideration due to,' Thuc. i 18 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προέχοντες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μὴ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, Arrian Anabasis i, 1. μαλακοῦ] 6, 1. περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον] Cobet suggests παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, 8, 1, and ἀπαλεῖν for ἀφρεῖν, without reason.

9. αἶρην, 'to get under way,' 'to start,' intrans. as often used by Thucydides whether of a journey by land or a sea voyage, ii 25, 3 ἄραντες—παρέπλεον, 55, 6 ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων τόπων) ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, 103 ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, iii 32 ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ Ἑμβάτου παρέπλει, 91, 3, iv 45 ἄραντες ἐπλευσαν, v 3, 3 ἄρας περιέπλει, vi 94, vii 26, 69, viii 28, 32 and with dative. i 29 ἄραντες ναῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐπλεον, iv 129, 3, ii 23, 2 ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ ἐπλεον, iii 95 ἄρας τῷ στρατεύματι, iv 11, 2 ἄραντες τῷ στρατῷ, vi 43, 51, viii 60, 2, Plutarch Camill. c. 40 Κέλτους, αὐθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν, Poplic. c. 22 ἄραντες στρατῷ αὐτῷ. In Thuc. viii 39, 1 we have the word applied to

the ships themselves *ἐπὶ καὶ εἰκασί νῆες δρασαι ἐπλεον*, which seems to show that *τὰς ἀγκύρας* is not, as is commonly supposed, to be understood, but cf. Pomp. c. 80 *ἐφυγον ἀράμενοι τὰς ἀγκύρας*. The *δέ* is used after *αἰρεῖν* instead of *τε* because of the negative notion implied in *μαλακοῦ*=‘wanting in spirit,’ see n. to 27, 2.

11. *ὅτε καὶ*, ‘at which time among other things, they say, the following well-known characteristic sayings (Fr. ‘ana’) or apophthegms were uttered.’ Cf. Plut. praec. ger. reip. c. xv p. 811 B *τὸ τοῦ Ἀρτισθένου μνημονευόμενον*, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 c *εἰπὼν τὸ μνημονευόμενον*, Marc. c. 21 p. 310 c, Cat. c. 15 p. 344 r. This meaning is omitted in L.-S. Cf. below c. 18 § 1.

12. γάρ, ‘namely,’ introduces the promised narrative. The first anecdote is told also by Herodotus viii 59, but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: *ὥς δὲ ἀρα συνελέχθησαν (οἱ ἡγεμόνες), πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰρεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλοὶ δὲ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δέομενος λέγωντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύνου εἶπε· “Ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προξενιστάμενοι βατίζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἐφη· “Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλείπομενοι οὐ στεφανεύονται.”*

14. *τοὺς προξενιστάμενους*, ‘those who start before the signal is given,’ or ‘before their turn.’ They were kept in order by the rods of the beadles (*ραβδόχοι* or *Ἑλληνοδίκαι* Paus. vi 2, 1) in the employ of the stewards of the games (*ἀθλοθέται*). So we read in Thuc. v 50 that one Lichas ὑπὲρ τῶν *ραβδόχων* πληγὰς ἐλαβεν for a breach of the rules of the course: cf. Xen. Hell. iii 2, 21.

16. *τοὺς ἀπολαφθέντας*, ‘those who are left, lag behind.’ Xen. Cyr. i 4, 20 *πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο τάχους καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο*, Plato Sophist. p. 248 a *εἰτ’ ἐπακολουθοῦμεν...εἰτ’ ἀπολείπομεθα*, Crat. 412 a, Isocr. Evag. § 79 p. 29, 7 *παρακλείονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολείμενοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς πίπης ἀμιλλωμένοις*, Nicokles § 19 *οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν κωρῶν*, Plut. de adul. § 16 p. 58 r



ἀπολιμπανόμενοι θεόντων ὥσπερ ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἀπελείφθη δια-  
θῆναι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

§ 2. ἐπαρμένον τὴν βακτηρίαν, 'raising his staff, as though he would strike him.' G. § 199, 3, If he had done so, it would have been in keeping with the Spartan character: Thuc. viii 84 τῷ Δωριεὶ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ναύταις ἐπα-  
νήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς πλήξων Schol.), Xen. Hell. vi 2, 19 ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν...τὸν μὲν τινα βακτη-  
ρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν.

19. παρότητα, 'composure,' 'repression of feeling,'  
) (ὀργιλότητα, 'excitability.'

20. ἀνήγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'was bringing him back to his former proposal, when some one exclaimed'; according to Her. viii 61 this was Adeimantus.

22. [ἀπολις] because Athens was in the enemy's hands. οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκουσι, 'had no right to admonish.' G. § 243.

τοὺς ἔχοντας, sc. πόλιν, to be understood from ἀπολις, 'those who possessed one.' τοὺς ἔχ. might also mean 'men of substance' as in Arist. Eq. 1295, Pl. 596.

ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, *derelinquere*, 'to forsake,' since the Peloponnesian states were threatened by the enemy's land forces.

24. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation to' the man who had interrupted him. τοι, 'yes,' 'assuredly.' ὁ μοχθηρὲ, 'you wretch!'

26. οὐκ ἀξιούντες, 'disdaining,' 7, 2.

27. πόλις δ' ἡμῖν] Cf. Thuc. vii 77 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί. The remark is not so pointed in Herodotus ὡς εἴη ἐαυτοῖσι καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ...ἔστ' ἂν διεκόςαι νέες σφί ξωσι πεπληρωμέναι. Cf. Sir W. Jones' Ode:

'What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound;

No; man, high-minded men, &c.

which is borrowed from the fragment of Alcaeus:

οὐ λίθοι

τείχεων εὖ δεδομαμένοι,

ἀλλ' ἄνδρες πόλεος πύργος ἀρήϊοι.

Justin Hist. ii 12, 15 makes Themistokles say *patriam municipes esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in aedificiis, sed in civibus positam*.

28. διακόσται] 180 Athenian; 20 Chalkidian.

29. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose,' G. 277, 4.

§ 4. 80. δεύτερον] 9, 2.

πεύσεται τις Ἑλλήνων]

'many a one of the Hellenes (a litotes for πάντες Ἕλληνες) will hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free city,' a severer form of threat than if they had said directly πεύσεσθε ἡμᾶς κεκτημένους. Herodotus viii 62 makes them speak more definitely of his plan: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαμβάνοντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίρην τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρῃ τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν θέωμ κτισθῆναι· ὅμοις δὲ συμμάχων τοιάνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

2. ἥς ἀπέβαλον] G. § 153 n. 1.

16

4. ἔσχε] 9, 2.

δέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ (G. 167, 8), for

δέος μὴ οἱ Ἀθ. (anticipation of the subject). σφᾶς] G. § 144, 2 (a).

5. τοῦ Ἐρετρίως, 'the Eretrian commander' (Blass), not 'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is associated (Sintenis). The anecdote is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just south of Chalkis, next to which it was the most important place in the island. It is mentioned by Homer Iliad ii 537. The original town was destroyed by the Persians in B.C. 490, but afterwards rebuilt.

6. τι λέγειν, 'to say something.' Its usual meaning is 'to say something to the point,' (ὁδὲν λέγειν 'to talk nonsense').

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Cf. Agis 7, 5 τὸν Λεωνίδα παρεκάλουν ὄντα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (*veluti manu iniecta reprehendere*) τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύειν. πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.'

Πίστις is here passive = *fides apud alios*. Cf. 10, 5 l. 17 n.

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25. ὅπως ναυμαχήσωσιν, G. § 216, 2. In classical Greek the ind. future would be used with ὅπως after verbs of striving &c. G. § 217.

26. ὁδν, continuative, 'so.'

27. ἐπῆε, οὐδὲν, 'visited,' 'went round to,' Plut. Pomp. c. 68 p. 665 D ἐπιῶν τὰς φυλακάς, Thuc. v 110 τῶν ξυμμάχων δσοις μὴ Βρασιδᾶς ἐπῆλθε, VIII 54, 3 τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ('clubs') ἀπείσας ἐπῆλθε.

28. ὅμως] in spite of his assurances.

29. Τηνία τριήρης] from the island Tenos, one of the Cyclades, Herod. viii 82. αὐτόμολος, a deserter, predicate adj.

30. ἐνανάρχα] for ἥρχε, 4, 2.

- 18 1. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation,' 'in a spirit of anger.' μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης] making a merit of their necessity, they were eager for the struggle. Aristid. c. 8 φυγῆς ὁδοῦ οὐ λειψιμένης.

## CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 3. Ἐφῆγες μὲν] correlative to Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ § 2.

4. τὴν παράταξιν] nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

5. Φανόδημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of Ἀτθίδες. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Ikus, one of the Cyclades, because he wrote a special work on that island (Ἰκιακά). ὑπὲρ τὸ

'*Ἡράκλειον*, 'above the temple of Heracles,' upon one of the projecting declivities of mount Aegaleos, the mountain-range by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 18, Ktesias Exe. pers. § 26 *ἐπὶ στενώτατον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃ Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται*. The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Admiral Sir S. Stirling and Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1843, as the latter tells us in Rawlinson's Herod. viii 90.

6. *τῆς Ἀττικῆς*: G. § 174.

7. *μεθόριον* (*μετὰ, ὁρος*), 'the frontier' of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

8. *Κεράτων*: Strabo ix 604 *ἐν τῇ Παραλίῳ τῇ κατὰ Σαλαμίνα κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀτθίδος ὁρῇ δύο, ἃ καλοῦσι Κέρατα*. This would be much farther to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. Grote observes that 'if this writer was acquainted with the topography of Attica, we must suppose him to have ascribed an astonishingly long sight to Xerxes: but we may probably take the assertion as a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marks so many ancient writers.'

9. *χρυσεὺν δέσπον θέμενος*, 'having a golden throne set for him.' G. § 199 note 2. The throne with silver feet (*ἀργυρόπους*), upon which he had sat, was long preserved in the Akropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat. Grote v p. 176, Dem. c. Timocr. p. 741, 5. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of a Persian king in his translation of Herodotus vii c. 16.

10. *παραστησόμενος*, 'setting by his side,' 'causing to sit near him.' G. § 199 note 2. *ἔργον*, 'duty,' 'business.' *ἀπογράφεται*, 'to note down,' 'register,' the events of the battle.

§ 2. From Phanias.

12. *σφαγιαζόμενον*, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens; without which no one would venture to begin a battle.



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22. τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος, sc. αὐτὸν. G. § 173, 1.

24. συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι, *simul retinere*, 'to aid him in keeping back,' not 'to take the part of,' as L.-S. translate.

Cf. Agis 7, 5 τὸν Λεωνίδα παρεκάλουν ὄντα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (*veluti manu iniecta comprehendere*) τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύειν.

πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.' Πίστις is here passive=*fides apud alios*. Cf. 10, 5 l. 17 n.

Cf. Arist. 8, 5 εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν, Pyrrh. c. 28 p. 400 γ δοκῶν βίαιος εἶναι οὐτ' εὐνοίαν οὔτε πίστιν εἶχεν, C. Caea. c. 62 p. 737 A πίστιν εἶχε μεγάλην παρ' αὐτῷ, Dem. c. 10 p. 880 D ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ πνεῦμα πίστιν ἔχοντες ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος, Polyb. Hist. xi 10, 2 ἀναγκὴ λαμβάνειν τὴν πρώτην πίστιν τὴν παραίνεσιν, ib. vii 13. 2.

25. ὅπως ναυμαχήσωσιν, G. § 216, 2. In classical Greek the ind. future would be used with ὅπως after verbs of striving &c. G. § 217.

26. οὔν, continuative, 'so.'

27. ἐπῆα, *obibat*, 'visited,' 'went round to,' Plut. Pomp. c. 68 p. 665 D ἐπιὼν τὰς φυλακάς, Thuc. v 110 τῶν ξυμμάχων δσους μὴ Βρασιδας ἐπῆλθε, viii 54, 3 τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ('clubs') ἀπάσας ἐπῆλθε.

28. ὅμως] in spite of his assurances.

29. Τηνία τριήρης] from the island Tenos, one of the Cyclades, Herod. viii 82. αὐτόμολος, a deserter, predicate adj.

30. ἐνανδρῆα] for ἤρχε, 4, 2.

18 1. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation,' 'in a spirit of anger.' μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης] making a merit of their necessity, they were eager for the struggle. Aristid. c. 8 φυχῆς δδοῦ οὐ ληλειμένης.

## CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 3. Ἐάρξῃς μὲν] correlative to Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ § 2.

4. τὴν παράταξιν] nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

5. Φανόδημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of Ἀτθίδες. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Ikus, one of the Cyclades, because he wrote a special work on that island ('*Ἰκιάδα*').

ἐπὶ τῷ

'*Ἡράκλειον*, 'above the temple of Heracles,' upon one of the projecting declivities of mount Aegaleos, the mountain-range by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 18, Ktesias Exe. pers. § 26 *ἐπὶ σπευώτατον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃ Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται*. The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Admiral Sir S. Stirling and Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1843, as the latter tells us in Rawlinson's Herod. viii 90.

6. *τῆς Ἀττικῆς*: G. § 174.

7. *μεθορίῳ* (*μετὰ, ὅρος*), 'the frontier' of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

8. *Κεράτων*: Strabo ix 604 *ἐν τῇ Παραλίῳ τῇ κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα κείσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁρῇ δύο, ἃ καλοῦσι Κέρατα*. This would be much farther to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. Grote observes that 'if this writer was acquainted with the topography of Attica, we must suppose him to have ascribed an astonishingly long sight to Xerxes: but we may probably take the assertion as a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marks so many ancient writers.'

9. *χρυσεὺν δέφρον θρόνον*, 'having a golden throne set for him.' G. § 199 note 2. The throne with silver feet (*ἀργυρόπους*), upon which he had sat, was long preserved in the Akropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat. Grote v p. 176, Dem. c. Timocr. p. 741, 5. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of a Persian king in his translation of Herodotus vii c. 16.

10. *παρὰσθήμενος*, 'setting by his side,' 'causing to sit near him.' G. § 199 note 2. *ἔργον*, 'duty,' 'business.' *ἐνογράφεσθαι*, 'to note down,' 'register,' the events of the battle.

§ 2. From Phanias.

12. *σφαγιαζόμενος*, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens, without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

14. κάλλιστοι ἰδέσθαι: an Homeric expression, which will account for the use of the middle, unknown in prose.

τὴν ὄψιν: G. § 160, 1.

15. ἀνέλαμψεν—πῦρ, 'a great and brilliant flame shot up from the victim on the altar.' Sneezing (πταρμός) was considered a good omen even in Homer's time. Odyss. xvii 541. Cf. Theocr. vii 96 Σιμυλίδε μὲν Ἑρωτες ἐπέπταρον, xviii 16, Catull. xlv 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem*.

20. ἐσήμνη, 'gave an omen.' δεξιωσάμενος, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him.

21. τῶν νεανίσκων κατέρχασθαι, 'to sacrifice the youths,' lit. to make a beginning of or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead, Her. ii 45, Hom. II. iii 274 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνεν τρίχας.

22. ὠμῆστῃ, *qui crudis carnibus vescitur*. This or ὠμόδιος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices at Chios and Tenedos, Orph. H. 29, 5, Porphyry. de abst. 2, 55 ἐθύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ. On the rites of ὠμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on Eur. Bacch. v 188. οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι] infinitive in indirect discourse, G. § 246 n.

25. τὸ μάντευμα, object to ἐκπλαγέντος, 7, 8. μέγα καὶ θαυνόν, 'monstrous, shocking.' οἷον εἰωθεν, 'as is usual,' referring to what follows.

26. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων κ.τ.λ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cf. Polyb. x 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστ' ἂν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (*probabilis ratione*) προνοίας τυγχάνοντα, xii 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἔτι μένειν.

28. ἄμα, explained by κοινῇ φωνῇ. κατακαλοῦντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering.' Isokr. Helen. p. 218 c § 61 οἷσιντες ἂν αὐτοὺς εὐσεβῶς κάτω κατα-

καλέσονται, Plut. de EI Delph. § 9 p. 389 σ. τρεῖς μῆρας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, Appian Pun. c. 81 (ed. Mendelssohn) uses the active: τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπατημένοι κατεκάλουν.

2. Φανίας] 1, 2; 7, 4; 27, 3; 29, 4. Cf. Aristeid. c. 19  
9. λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον ὠμηστοῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psyttaleia, when Aristeides attacked it *at the beginning of the action*. Now Aristeides did not attack Psyttaleia until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice, and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

## CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 5. ὡς ἂν εἰδῶς: in full it would be λέγει ὡς ἂν λέγοι εἰδῶς.

6. διαβεβαιούμενος, 'being positive.'

Πέρσης: v. 341—3, the words are those of a Persian who escaped from the battle addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. Cobet would omit τραγυδίᾳ.

9. ὧν ἤγε, sc. νέων, G. § 153. αἱ δ' ὑπέκκοι τάχα, 'those of extraordinary speed,' i.e. exclusive of those thousand, there were 207. τμήρεις ταχέαι, or 'swift ships.' Herodotus' statement (vii 89, 184) agrees with this, Demosthenes de symm. § 29 p. 186, 7 speaks of 1000 in round numbers, and Diod. Sic. xi 3 of more than 1200.

10. ὥς ἔχα λόγος, 'such is the tale,' i.e. the reckoning; not 'so the story goes' (Prickard).

11. ἱκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα] 11, 3. τὸ πλῆθος] G. § 160, 1.

12. τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους] predicative = τοὺς ἐπιβάτας. The number is remarkably small. Herodotus (vi 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade in B.C. 494 had forty.



ἐγνώσαν τοὺς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers and tyrants however were excluded from the amnesty (Andoc. § 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν, cf. 5, 4. For ἐπὶ χρόνῳ Cobet would read ἐπὶ χρόνον.

8. κατελθοῦσι, 'on their return from exile': Herod. v 30 εἰ κως κατέλθοιεν εἰς αὐτῶν, Thuc. i 113, 4 οἱ φηγάδες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες...αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο, iv 66, 3 τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν. So κατὰγειν means *reducere in patriam*, 'to recal from banishment,' in Herod., Thuc., Plato, Xen., Plutarch. πράττειν καὶ λέγειν] subject of ἐξείναι, G. § 259. The two verbs combined indicate full political privileges.

§ 2. 8. δέλωμα, *dignitas*, 'rank,' 'consideration due to,' Thuc. i 18 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προέχοντες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μὴ εἶναι σφίσι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, Arrian Anabasis i, 1. μαλακοῦ] 6, 1. περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον] Cobet suggests παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, 8, 1, and ἀπαίρειν for αἶρειν, without reason.

9. αἶρειν, 'to get under way,' 'to start,' intrans. as often used by Thucydides whether of a journey by land or a sea voyage, ii 25, 3 ἄραντες—παρέπλεον, 55, 6 ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων τόπων) ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, 103 ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, iii 32 ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει, 91, 3, iv 45 ἄραντες ἐπλευσαν, v 3, 3 ἄρας περιέπλει, vi 94, vii 26, 69, viii 28, 32 and with dative. i 29 ἄραντες ναῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐπλεον, iv 129, 3, ii 23, 2 ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ ἐπλεον, iii 95 ἄρας τῷ στρατεύματι, iv 11, 2 ἄραντες τῷ στρατῷ, vi 43, 51, viii 60, 2, Plutarch Camill. c. 40 Κέλτους, αὐθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν, Poplic. c. 22 ἄραντες στρατῷ μεγάλῳ. In Thuc. viii 39, 1 we have the word applied to

the ships themselves ἐπὶ καὶ εἰκοσι νῆες δρασαὶ ἔπλεον, which seems to show that τὰς ἀγκύρας is not, as is commonly supposed, to be understood, but cf. Pomp. c. 80 ἐφυγον ἀράμενοι τὰς ἀγκύρας. The δέ is used after αἰρεῖν instead of τε because of the negative notion implied in μαλακοῦ = 'wanting in spirit,' see n. to 27, 2.

11. ὅτε καὶ, 'at which time among other things, they say, the following well-known characteristic sayings (Fr. 'ana') or apophthegms were uttered.' Cf. Plut. praec. ger. reip. c. xv p. 811 B τὸ τοῦ Ἀντισθέους μνημονευόμενον, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ μνημονευόμενον, Maro. c. 21 p. 310 c, Cat. c. 15 p. 344 F. This meaning is omitted in L.-S. Cf. below c. 18 § 1.

12. γὰρ, 'namely,' introduces the promised narrative. The first anecdote is told also by Herodotus viii 59, but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: ὡς δὲ δρα συνελήχθησαν (οἱ ἡγεμόνες), πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰσεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἳ κάρτα δέομενος λέγωντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύνου εἶπε· "ὦ Θεμιστοκλῆες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι βαπίζονται." ὁ δὲ ἀπολύόμενος ἐφη· "Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλείπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύονται."

14. τοὺς προεξανισταμένους, 'those who start before the signal is given,' or 'before their turn.' They were kept in order by the rods of the beaules (ραβδούχοι or Ἑλλανοδίαι Paus. vi 2, 1) in the employ of the stewards of the games (ἀθλοθέται). So we read in Thuc. v 50 that one Lichas ὑπὸ τῶν ραβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν for a breach of the rules of the course: cf. Xen. Hell. iii 2, 21.

16. τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας, 'those who are left, lag behind.' Xen. Cyr. i 4, 20 πρῶτος ἦγειτο ταχέως καὶ ὁ Κραξίδης μέντοι ἐφείπετο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, Plato Sophist. p. 248 A εἰ' ἐπακολουθοῦμεν...εἰ' ἀπολείπομεθα, Crat. 412 A, Isocr. Evag. § 79 p. 29, 7 παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολειμμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς πίστες ἀμιλλωμένοις, Nicokles § 19 οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, Plut. de adul. § 16 p. 58 F

ἀπολιμπανόμενοι θούτων ὥσπερ ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἀπελείφθη δια-  
θέων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,

§ 3. ἐπαυμένον τὴν βακτηρίαν, 'raising his staff, as though he would strike him.' G. § 199, 3, If he had done so, it would have been in keeping with the Spartan character: Thuc. viii 84 τῷ Δωριεῖ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ναύταις ἐπα-  
νήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς πλήξων Schol.), Xen. Hell. vi 2, 19 ἀποκρινάμενων δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν...τὸν μὲν τινα βακτη-  
ρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν.

19. πρᾶσις, 'composure,' 'repression of feeling,'  
(ὀργιλότης, 'excitability.'

20. ἀνήγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'was bringing him back to his former proposal, when some one exclaimed'; according to Her. viii 61 this was Adeimantus.

22. ἀπολις] because Athens was in the enemy's hands. οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει, 'had no right to admonish.' G. § 243. τοὺς ἔχοντας, sc. πόλιν, to be understood from ἀπολις, 'those who possessed one.' τοὺς ἔχ. might also mean 'men of substance' as in Arist. Eq. 1295, Pl. 596. ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, *derelinquere*, 'to forsake,' since the Peloponnesian states were threatened by the enemy's land forces.

24. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation to' the man who had interrupted him. τοι, 'yes,' 'assuredly.' ὦ μοχθηρὲ, 'you wretch!'

26. οὐκ ἀξιούντες, 'disdaining,' 7, 2.

27. πόλις δ' ἡμῖν] Cf. Thuc. vii 77 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τεῖχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί. The remark is not so pointed in Herodotus ὡς εἴη αὐτοῖσι καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ...ἔστ' ὧν διηκόσται νέες σφι ξῶσι πεπληρωμέναι. Cf. Sir W. Jones' Ode:

'What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound;

\* \* \* \* \*

No; men; high-minded men,' &c.

which is borrowed from the fragment of Alcaeus:

οὐ λίθοι  
τείχεων εἰς δεδομαμένοι,  
ἀλλ' ἄνδρες πόλεος πύργος ἀρχῆοι.

Justin Hist. II 12, 15 makes Themistokles say *patriam municipes esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in aedificiis, sed in civibus positam*.

23. διακόσια] 180 Athenian; 20 Chalkidian.

29. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose,' G. 277, 4.

§ 4. 30. δεύτερον] 9, 2. πύσεται τις Ἑλλήνων] 'many a one of the Hellenes (a litotes for πάντες Ἕλληνες) will hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free city,' a severer form of threat than if they had said directly πύσσεσθε ἡμᾶς κεκτημένους. Herodotus VIII 62 makes them speak more definitely of his plan: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκίας κομειόμεθα ἐς Σίριον τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρῃ τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δεῖν κτισθῆναι· ὅμοις δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνοθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

2. ἢς ἀπέβαλον] G. § 153 n. 1.

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4. ἔσχει] 9, 2. δέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ (G. 167, 3), for δέος μὴ οἱ Ἀθ. (anticipation of the subject). σφᾶς] G. § 144, 2 (a).

5. τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, 'the Eretrian commander' (Blass), not 'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is associated (Sintenis). The anecdote is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just south of Chalkis, next to which it was the most important place in the island. It is mentioned by Homer Iliad II 537. The original town was destroyed by the Persians in B.C. 490, but afterwards rebuilt.

6. τι λέγειν, 'to say something.' Its usual meaning is 'to say something to the point,' )( οὐδὲν λέγειν 'to talk nonsense.'

7. αἱ τευθίδες, 'a kind of cuttle-fish' or 'squid.' Koräes has the following note on this passage: τευθίδες=τὰ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλούμενα καλαμάρια, μετενεχθέντος ἰσως τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνηθείᾳ Καλαμαρίου τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν τῶν γραφικῶν καλάμων θήκην ἅμα τε καὶ τοῦ γραφικοῦ μέλανος δοχείου, διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς τευθίσιν θολόν, ὅν γε μὴν κατακρίως μελάντερον ἔχει ἢ σηπία καὶ αὕτη τοῦ γένους οὔσα τῶν μαλακίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τευθίς. "Ὁ δὲ λέγει περὶ τε τῆς μαχαίρας καὶ τῆς καρδίας τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. 'Οὐδὲν' ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης (hist. anim. iv 1) τῶν 'μαλακίων (molluscs) ἔχει σπλάγχνον, τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς τε σηπίας καὶ τῆς τευθίδος δύο στερεῶν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται σήπιον τὸ δὲ ξίφος (=μάχαιρα).'

## CHAPTER XII

§ 1. 10. τινων] not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν—γλαῦκα §1] the simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often marked by τε—καί.

12. ἀνωθεν] to be taken with ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος, of which it forms a closer definition, unless with Cobet we are to consider the word as a gloss. γλαῦκα] the bird of the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon is recorded by the chorus in the Parabasis of the *Vespas* of Aristophanes v 1086 ἐωσάμεσθε (τὸν βάρβαρον) ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν, γλαυξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτετο.

13. ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς] The Greek augurs always faced the north in their observation of omens, and since those that were lucky came from the east, they were on their right; while the unlucky, coming from the west, were on their left. The Romans, on the contrary, turned their faces towards the south, and therefore had the eastern or fortunate signs on the left, hence *laevus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'fortunate,' and when 'dexter' has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τῶν νεῶν goes with διαπετομένην. Cf. Pyrrh. c. 18 προὐς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

14. τοῖς καρχησίοις, 'the mast-head.' Cf. Eur. Hec. 1261 προσέειπεν ἐκ καρχησίων.

15. προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his (Themistokles') opinion.' Herod. i 109 οὐ οἱ ἐγὼγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, ii 120 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστιθεμαι, Thuc. i 20, 4, v 62, 1, vi 50 προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, Xen. Anab. i 6, 10 ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.

16. παρῆσαντο ναυμαχίῃσιν Cobet would read ὡς ναυμαχίῃσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεί] the conclusion is l. 26 ἐνθα δὴ. See Herod. viii 67.

17. στόλος προσφερόμενος, *classis adnota*. κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικόν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf.' Phalerum or Phalerus, a demus belonging to the tribe Acantis, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (μετὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ Strabo ix p. 398), now called Τρεῖς Πόργοι.

18. ἀπέκρυψεν, *obtegit*, 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

20. ἄθροος, *omnibus copiis, universo exercitu*, 'with all his force assembled.' Cf. Sull. c. 12 p. 458 τ ταῖς Ἀθήραις ἄθροος ἐτέστη, Eum. c. 5 p. 585 τ τῇ φάλαγγι αὐτοῦ διεσπαρμένη δθροος ἐπελάσας, Pomp. c. 20 p. 629 ἂ τραπομένου πρὸς ταύτας ἐκείνου δθροος ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην, Luc. c. 27 p. 509 τ υπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταύρον δθροος κατεφάνη. In classical Greek it is only used with plural or collective nouns.

21. τῶν δὲ θυνίμων ὁμοῦ γινομένων, 'when, I say, the two forces, land and naval, were combined.' A summary of the previous statement. ἔξαρρήσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *effugerunt, exciderunt*, 'slipped from their memory.'

23. ἐπάπταινον πρὸς, 'looked wistfully to.'

24. δόκα δὲ, 'but they resolved.' The δὲ is adversative to the negation implied in χαλεπαίνοντες ἤκουον; cf. 11, 2. τῆς νυκτός, 'the next night.' Cf. 7, 4.

25. παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had orders given them to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch: according to Herodotus matters did not go so far.

26. *ἔνθα δὲ*, *tum demum*, 'then and not until then,' 'just then.'

*βαρέως φέρων εἰ*, 'vexed at the idea of.'

Some verbs expressing wonder, indignation or disapprobation, joy or surprise, take a protasis with *εἰ*, where a causal sentence would seem more natural. *Madv. Gr. Synt.* § 194 c, *Clyde* § 48 *obs.* 2, G. § 228.

27. *εἰ τὴν κ.τ.λ.*] the advantage of a battle at Salamis, and the disadvantage of returning, *Herod.* viii 57 and 60, 2; in the latter case *κατὰ πόλιν* (distributive) *ἐκαστοὶ τρέψονται. τῶν στενῶν*] 8, 1; 14, 2.

29. *τὴν περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν*, 'the well-known affair with Sikinnus.'

§ 2. *Herod.* c. 75, who however does not speak of Sikinnus as a Persian or as a prisoner of war. It is surmised that Plutarch read Herodotus' words *πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πολλῶν* carelessly, as if he had written *τῶν Μήδων ἄνδρα*.

17 1. *εὐνοῦς*] *Nep. Them.* c. 4 *noctu de servis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit.*

2. *παιδαγωγός*, 'tutor,' the slave who had charge of the boys of the more respectable families out of school.

5. *τὰ βασιλῆως*, 'the king's side.' *πρώτος*] the greater therefore the service.

6. *ἀποδιδράσκοντας*, 'are trying to make their escape by stealth.' For the distinction between this and *ἀποφεύγοντας*, see *Xen. Anab.* i 4, 8. Cf. *Herod.* viii 75 *ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῖς δρῶσιν μὲν βουλευόμενοι καταρρωδηκότες.*

7. *μὴ παρῆναι*, 'not to allow them,' from *παρήμι*. *ἐν ᾧ* 'whilst they are in a state of confusion,' before the complete junction of the land and naval forces.

8. *τῶν πρῶν χωρὶς*, G. § 182, 2. *ἐπιδύσθαι*, 'to attack.'

10. *δεξιμένους*, 'hailing it as a proposal emanating from goodwill to himself.' *τέλος ἐξέφερε*, 'issued orders,' a very unusual phrase: the words *ἦσθη καὶ τέλος* are omitted in

F, see cr. app. Cf. Coriol. c. 6 p. 216 A: *συνούσης περὶ τούτων βουλῆς καὶ μηδὲν τέλος ἐκφερούσης.*

12. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 'at their leisure,' )( ἡδῆ, 'at once.' Plutarch's account differs from that of Herodotus, who does not notice the personal interference of Xerxes in any way, but treats the communication of Sikinnus as having been made to the Persian generals, and the night-movement as having been undertaken by them. It agrees with the narrative in Aeschylus Pers. 355 ff.

13. ἀναχθέντας, *evectos*, 'putting to sea.' τὸν πόρον, 'the strait' between Salamis and the coast of Attica, which was only a quarter of a mile in breadth at the narrowest part.

14. διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, 'to form a girdle (as it were) between the islands,' 'to throw a boom across so as to close up the passages between them,' viz. the small islands of Pyttalea (Aristeid. c. 9), Malante and Silenise. Cf. Periol. c. 19, 1: τὸν αὐχένα (Chersonesi) διαζῶσαι ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. ἔπως ἐκφύγει] G. § 216, 1.

§ 3. 15. Cf. Arist. c. 8. According to Herodotus viii 79 Aristides summoned Themistokles out of the assembled synod of chiefs (στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκάλετο Θεμιστοκλέα... θέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι).

19. εἴρηται: 5, 4, 28; 11, 1, 2.

20. τὴν κύκλωσιν, 'of their being surrounded by the Persians.' Arist. 8, 2 οὐδενὸς προειδότες τὴν κύκλωσιν. τὴν ἁλλῇ καλοκάγαθειαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, 'the general nobleness of the man's character,' which commanded his confidence and respect. τοῦ ἀνδρός, 'the man,' used as 'homo,' especially in familiar language, instead of the demonstrative pronoun. Cf. 16, 2, 1. 22 n.

22. τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος, sc. αὐτὸν. G. § 173, 1.

24. συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι, *simul retinere*, 'to aid him in keeping back,' not 'to take the part of,' as L.-S. translate.



Cf. Agis 7, 5 τὸν Λεωνίδα παρεκάλουν ὅντα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (*veluti manu iniecta reprehendere*) τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύειν.

πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.' Πίστις is here passive=*fides apud alios*. Cf. 10, 5 l. 17 n.

Cf. Arist. 8, 5 εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν, Pyrrh. c. 26 p. 400 F δοῶν βίαιος εἶναι οὐτ' εὐνοίαν οὔτε πίστιν εἶχεν, C. Caes. c. 62 p. 737 A πίστιν εἶχε μεγάλην παρ' αὐτῷ, Dem. c. 10 p. 850 D ἐν βῆμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος, Polyb. Hist. XI 10, 2 ἀναγκή λαμβάνειν τὴν πρώτην πίστιν τὴν παραίνεσιν, ib. VII 13, 2.

25. ὅπως ναυμαχήσωσιν, G. § 216, 2. In classical Greek the ind. future would be used with ὅπως after verbs of striving &c. G. § 217.

26. οὕν, continuative, 'so.'

27. ἐπῆγε, *odibat*, 'visited,' 'went round to,' Plut. Pomp. c. 68 p. 665 D ἐπιῶν τὰς φυλακάς, Thuc. v 110 τῶν ξυμμάχων ὅσους μὴ Βρασιδας ἐπῆλθε, VIII 54, 3 τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ('clubs') ἀπάσας ἐπῆλθε.

28. ὅμως] in spite of his assurances.

29. Τηνία τριήρης] from the island Tenos, one of the Cyclades, Herod. VIII 82. ἀντόμολος, a deserter, predicate adj.

30. ἐνανδρᾶ] for ἤρχε, 4, 2.

18 1. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation,' 'in a spirit of anger.' μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης] making a merit of their necessity, they were eager for the struggle. Aristid. c. 8 φυγῆς ὁδοῦ οὐ ληλειμμένης.

## CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 3. Ἐξέρχῃ μὲν] correlative to Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ § 2.

4. τὴν παράταξιν] nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

5. Φανόδημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of Ἀτθίδες. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Ikus, one of the Cyclades, because he wrote a special work on that island (Ἰκιάκα). ὑπὲρ τὸ

'*Ἡράκλειον*, 'above the temple of Heracles,' upon one of the projecting declivities of mount Aegaleos, the mountain-range by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 18, Ktesias Exe. pers. § 26 ἐπὶ στενωπῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃ *Ἡράκλειον* καλεῖται. The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Admiral Sir S. Stirling and Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1843, as the latter tells us in Rawlinson's Herod. viii 90.

6. τῆς Ἀττικῆς: G. § 174.

7. μεθορίῳ (μετὰ, ὁρος), 'the frontier' of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

8. Κεράτων: Strabo ix 604 ἐν τῇ Παραλιπτοῦ κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁρῆ δύο, ἃ καλοῦσι Κέρατα. This would be much farther to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. Grote observes that 'if this writer was acquainted with the topography of Attica, we must suppose him to have ascribed an astonishingly long sight to Xerxes: but we may probably take the assertion as a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marks so many ancient writers.'

9. χρυσοῦν θρόνον θέμενος, 'having a golden throne set for him.' G. § 199 note 2. The throne with silver feet (ἀργυρόπους), upon which he had sat, was long preserved in the Akropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat. Grote v p. 176, Dem. c. Timocr. p. 741, 5. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of a Persian king in his translation of Herodotus vii c. 16.

10. παραστησάμενος, 'setting by his side,' 'causing to sit near him.' G. § 199 note 2. ἔργον, 'duty,' 'business.' ἀπογράφειν, 'to note down,' 'register,' the events of the battle.

§ 2. From Phanias.

12. σφαγιαζόμενον, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens, without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

14. κάλλιστοι ἰδέσθαι: an Homeric expression, which will account for the use of the middle, unknown in prose.

τὴν ὄψιν: G. § 160, 1.

18. ἀνελάμψεν—πῦρ, 'a great and brilliant flame shot up from the victim on the altar.' Sneezing (παράμυς) was considered a good omen even in Homer's time. *Odys.* xvii 541. Cf. *Theocr.* vii 96 Σιμυλίδᾳ μὲν Ἑρῶτες ἐπέπταρον, xviii 16, *Catull.* xlv 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem*.

20. ἐσήμηνε, 'gave an omen.' δεξιωσάμενος, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him.

21. τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι, 'to sacrifice the youths,' lit. to make a beginning of or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead, *Her.* ii 45, *Hom.* II. iii 274 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνεν τρίχας.

22. ὠμηστικῇ, *qui crudis carnibus vescitur*. This or ὠμδιδος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices at Chios and Tenedos, *Orph. H.* 29, 5, *Porphyr.* de abst. 2, 55 ἐθύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ. On the rites of ὠμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on *Eur. Bacch.* v 138. οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι] infinitive in indirect discourse, G. § 246 n.

23. τὸ μάντευμα, object to ἐκπλαγέντος, 7, 8. μέγα καὶ δεινόν, 'monstrous, shocking.' οἷον εἰωθεν, 'as is usual,' referring to what follows.

26. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παρὰ λόγων κ.τ.λ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cf. *Polyb.* x 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (*probabili ratione*) προνοίας τυγχάνοντα, xii 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἔτι μένειν.

28. ἄμα, explained by κοινῇ φωνῇ. κατακαλοῦντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering.' *Isokr.* *Helen.* p. 218 c § 61 οἷτινες ἂν αὐτοὺς εὐσεβῶς κάτω κατα-

καλέσονται, Plut. de EI Delph. § 9 p. 389 σ. τρεῖς μῆνας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, Appian Pun. c. 81 (ed. Mendelssohn) uses the active: τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπατημένοι κατεκάλουν.

2. Φανίας] 1, 2; 7, 4; 27, 8; 29, 4. Cf. Aristeid. c. 19  
9 λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psytaleia, when Aristides attacked it *at the beginning of the action*. Now Aristides did not attack Psytaleia until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice, and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

## CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 5. ὡς ἂν εἰδῶς: in full it would be λέγει ὡς ἂν λέγοι εἰδῶς.

6. διαβεβαιούμενος, 'being positive.'

Πέρσαις: v. 341—3, the words are those of a Persian who escaped from the battle addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. Cobet would omit τραγῳδία.

9. ὧν ἤγε, sc. νέων, G. § 153. αἱ δ' ἐπέρκοποι τάχα, 'those of extraordinary speed,' i.e. exclusive of those thousand, there were 207. *τρέμεις ταχέαι*, or 'swift ships.' Herodotus' statement (vii 89, 184) agrees with this, Demosthenes de symm. § 29 p. 186, 7 speaks of 1000 in round numbers, and Diod. Sic. xi 8 of more than 1200.

10. ὥς ἔχα λόγος, 'such is the tale,' i.e. the reckoning; not 'so the story goes' (Prickard).

11. ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα] 11, 3. τὸ πλῆθος] G. § 160, 1.

12. τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους] predicative = τοὺς ἐπιβάτας. The number is remarkably small. Herodotus (vi 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade in B.C. 494 had forty.

§ 2. 15. συνδόν] 7, 2; 8, 2.

16. φυλάξας, 'watching for.'

18. ὥραν, 'time of day.' λαμπρόν] 'fresh' predicate adjective, G. § 138. Cf. Herod. II 96 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλεῖν, ἣν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, Alexis ap. Athen. VIII 338 D εἰ πνεύσειε βορρᾶς ἡ νότος ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαμπρός, Arist. Eq. 430 ἐξεῖμί σοι λαμπρός καὶ μέγας καθιέις, ib. 760, Verg. Georg. I 460 *claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri*.

19. δα] to be taken with κατάγωσαν. κύμα, 'a heavy swell.' Leake (demi of Attica, p. 203 n.) rejects this account, because in the latter part of the year when the battle took place, the sea-breeze seldom sets in until late in the forenoon, and according to Herodotus and Aeschylus the battle began at day-break.

20. οὐκ ἐβλαπτε, 'did not impede or disable them, because they were flat (ἀλιτενεῖς) and low.'

21. ταῖς πρύμναις ἀνιστάσας, 'high-sterned,' lit. 'standing up with their sterns.'

22. βαρείας, 'over-weighted,' refers to τοῖς καταστρώμασιν.

ἐσφαλλε, 'as it caught them, drove them out of their course and presented their broadsides to the Greeks, so that they were exposed to and defenceless against the attacks of the enemy's triremes.' Why the imperfect?

23. ὀξέως προσφερόμενοις, 'eagerly attacking,' 15, 2; 30, 2. προσέχουσιν] 2, 4; 7, 1; 81, 1.

26. ὡς ὁρᾶντι] because they thought he saw, subjective reason; a further reason (objective) is introduced by ὅτι. G. § 277, 6 note 2.

27. κατ' ἐκείνον, 'opposite to him.' Ἀριαμένης] according to Herod. not Ariamenes but Ariabignes, the son of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas.

28. ἔχον] G. § 377, 6.

30. διακρίνομενος] because, when Darius' sons disputed the succession to his throne, and Xerxes, a son of the second

family, was appointed, Ariamenes, the eldest of the first family, at once renounced his claims. Plutarch *de frat. am.* c. 18, p. 488 *z.* quotes his conduct herein as ἀρχέυτον καθαρὸν καὶ ἀνώμητον εὐμενέας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. In Herodotus vii 2 this son is named Artobazanes.

§ 3. 1. σὺν] continuative. Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δακελαῦς] of 20 the deme Decelea, which was in the φυλὴ Ἰπποβοωντίς. According to Herodotus (viii 84) Ameinias belonged not to Decelea but to Pallene, which was one of the most famous of the Athenian provincial towns. He was, if we are to believe Diodorus, a brother of the poet Aeschylus, whose other brother, Cynaegirus, had distinguished himself at Marathon, Her. vi 114. Rawlinson well remarks that, if this is true, it lends a peculiar interest to the beautiful simplicity of the words in which the poet notices his brother's action (*Pers.* 415—7) ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ | ναῦς κάποθραβεῖ πάντα Φοινίσσης νέως κόρυμβα, i.e. 'the attack was commenced by a Greek ship, which breaks off all the prow ornaments of a Phoenician vessel.'

2. Παιανίδες, 'of the deme Paeania,' the birthplace of Demosthenes the orator, in the tribe Pandionis. The reading Πεδιεύς, retained by Sintenis, is probably, as he says, corrupt, there being no demos of that name. ὁμοῦ, 'together,' i.e. in the same vessel. αἱ νῆες, 'their ships,' i.e. those of Ariamenes and Ameinias.

3. συνερείσασαι, intrans. *in se mutuo impactae* 'crashing together,' 'grappling with each other.' Cf. Plut. *Arat.* c. 22 p. 1037 ο τέλος συνερείσαντες ἐξωθῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους; Polyb. 12, 21, 8 συνήσπισαν οὕτως ὥστε συνερεῖσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους; 5, 84, 2 ὀλίγα τινα (τῶν θηρίων) συνήρεισε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, Diod. Sic. xiii c. 46 p. 172 ὁπότε συνερείσειαν αἱ νῆες. τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνέσχιθον, 'were held fast, became entangled by their brazen beaks' (ἐμβολοί). Diodor. Sic. xx c. 9 p. 752 ἔλαβεν τὰ χαλκώματα Ἀγαθοκλέους νεῶν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τρεῖς, Plut. *Ant.* c. 16 p. 943 δ τῶν Καίσαρος (νεῶν) ἀντιπρώρον συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φύλασσο-

μένων, c. 67 p. 947 B τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων τῷ χαλκώματι πατάξας.

4. ἐπιβαίνοντα, 'in the attempt to board,' 'in the act of boarding.'

5. ὑποστάντες, 'making a stand against him.' Eur. Cycl. 200 δχλον Φρυγῶν ὑπέστην, Thuc. i 144, 4 ὑποστάντες Μήδους, iv 127, 1 ἐπικειμένους ὑφίστατο. τοῖς δόρασι τύποντες, 'striking him with their spears.'

Cobet shows (Var. Lect. p. 330 ff.) that τύπτειν has two meanings: *ferire*, *vulnus infligere* 'to inflict a wound with some weapon,' and *caedere*, *verberare* 'to beat,' 'smite.' In the second sense its future is τυπήσω, aor. 1 πληγὰς ἐνέβαλον or ἐνέτεινα, very seldom ἐπάταξα and sometimes ἔπαισα. In the former sense the future in use is πατάξω, the aor. 1 is ἐπάταξα, πληγὴν ἐνέβαλον, sometimes in poetry ἔπαισα. The perfect is in both senses πέπληγα, but πληγὰς δέδωκα is more common, for *cecidi*, *verberibus contudi*, though the former is found in Arist. Av. 1350 and Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 5 ἰδοὺ πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, and in the passive the forms in use are τύπτομαι, παίομαι, πληγὰς λαμβάνω (*caedor*), τυπήσομαι, πληγὰς λήψομαι, πληγὰς ἔλαβον, πληγὰς εἴληφα, and τύπτομαι, πληγὴν λαμβάνω (*vulneror*), πέπληγμαι, πεπλήξομαι, ἐπλήγην, πληγήσομαι.

7. διαφερόμενον, 'tossed about,' 'floating amongst the other wreckage.' Cf. Strabo iii c. 5 εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατὰραι μόλις παραδιερχθεῖς περὶ τὰς Τυμνησίας νήσους, Act. Apost. xxvii. 27 διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ, Plut. de exilio c. 16 p. 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος. Ἀρτεμισία] queen of Halikarnassus in Karia, Herodotus' own city; she distinguished herself greatly in the battle by her skill and gallantry, Herod. viii 87, 93, who records also the death of the admiral.

## CHAPTER XV

§ 1. 9. ἐν τούτῳ ὄντος, 'at this period of the battle,' lit. 'when the battle was at this point.' φῶς] not in Herod.

10. Ἐλευσινίδην, 'from Eleusis,' G. § 61. The circumstance is mentioned by Herod. xiii 65, as having happened not during, the battle.

11. τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχεν πεδίον, 'filled the Thriasian plain.' This plain, so named from the town of Thria near Eleusis (Strabo ix c. 6, c. 13), extends along shore seven or eight miles from Mt Poecilum to Mt Kerata (Kandili) (13, 1), and reaches inland about five miles. Herod. viii 65, ix 7, Apollodor. iii 14, 11.

12. τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἴακχον, 'escorting the mystic Iacchus.' The great festival of the Eleusinia was celebrated annually from the 15th to the 23rd of the month Boedromion (Sept.,—Octr.). The sixth (called Ἴακχος) was the great day of the festival. The statue of the god, son of Demeter, was carried along the sacred road (Plut. Alc. c. 84) amid joyous shouts from the Kerameikus to Eleusis (Arist. Ran. 315, Plut. Phoc. c. 28). The procession was accompanied by a great number of followers and spectators, usually as many as 30,000. Dict. Antiqq. s.v.

13. πλήθους, 'dense crowd.' κατὰ μικρὸν, 'paulatim,' 'little by little,' above 4, 8, Aristoph. Nub. 741, Vesp. 702. G. § 191, iv 2 (2) (c) p. 238.

14. νέφος] Herod. viii. 65, 7, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὑπονοστεῖν, *sudsi-dere, sedari*, 'to settle' on the ground.

15. κατασκήπτειν εἰς, 'lighted upon,' generally used of a flash of lightning. Cf. Her. l. c. ἦν (τὸ φεγγόμενον) κατασκήψη εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. The mystic procession therefore came to the help of the Greeks. ἔτεροι] The Greeks, according to Herod. viii 64, sent a vessel to Aegina to fetch (the statues of) Aeacus and the other Aeacids, viz. Peleus, Phocus, Achilles. Telamon and Ajax had already been invoked from Salamis: εὐξάμενοι πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Διαντὰ τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νῆα ἀπέστελλον εἰς Αἴγινα. The boat came back at the beginning of the battle, ib. 84.

16. καθορᾶν ὁρᾶν, 'fancied that they distinguished, saw clearly.' See n. to 26, 2.



18. ἀνατεταίς τὰς χεῖρας ἐτεχόντων, 'holding their hands stretched out in front of.' See critical appendix.

20. παρακεκλημένους, *invocatos*.

§ 2. 21. πρῶτος μὲν, answering to οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι. The οὖν is continuative. This is probably an error of Plutarch's: according to Herodotus viii 11, it was at Artemisium that Lykomedes performed the exploit mentioned. He makes Ameinias the first to capture a vessel at Salamis.

22. παράσημα, = ἐπίσημα, *insignia*, 'ensigns,' 8, 1. ἀνέθηκεν] 5, 2.

24. Φληῖσιν, 'in the deme Phlya,' 1, 3, in which there was a temple of Apollo with the laurel crown (*Phoebo laurigerο* Ovid *ars am.* 3, 389), called δαφνηφορεῖον (Athen. p. 424 f). See Dict. of Antiqq. s.v. *daphnephoria*. Pausanias 1, 31, 4 mentions an altar of Apollo Διονυσόδωτος in this deme.

25. ἕξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος, 'being on an equality in point of numbers,' for as Nepos says, *barbarus alienissimo sibi loco, contra, opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari confixit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.* κατὰ μέρος, 'in detachments:' see above l. 14, κατὰ μικρόν. προσφερομένους, 14. 2.

27. μέχρι δειλῆς ἀντισχόντας, 'although they resisted until evening.' Cf. Herod. viii 86 καίτοι ἥσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνωνες αὐτοὶ ἐωτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πῶς τις προθυμέμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωτὸν θέρεσθαι βασιλέα. Σιμωνίδης] Simonides of Keos, to be distinguished from his namesake the iambic poet of Amorgos, was the most popular of the Greek lyric poets, B.C. 556—469, being the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the heroism of the victors in the great national struggle with Persia. We have no complete poem of his left (save epigrams and epitaphs), but only remains of Hymns, Dithyrambs, Hyporchemes, Epinicii, Parthenia and Threnoi. The most celebrated fragment is the beautiful epode containing the 'lament of Danae.' See Mahaffy, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* Vol. 1 p. 207 ff.

28. περιβόητον, 'far-famed.' ἀράμενοι νίκην, *reportata victoria*, cf. Hom. II. vii 203 δὸς νίκην Αἰάντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρεσθαί, Aesch. Theb. 305 ἄροισθε κύδος.

29. ἐνάλιον ἔργον, 'naval exploit.' The reading of F<sup>a</sup> is ἐν ἄλλο. "Ἑλληνιν] G. § 188, 3.

30. ἀνδρείῳ] G. § 188, 1.

2. δεινότητι] 2, 4 n., Nep. c. 4 *victus est magis consilio* 21 *Themistocli quam armis Graeciae*.

## CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. 8. θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόττευξιν, 'unable to reconcile himself to his defeat.' The verb θυμομαχῶ means properly 'to struggle with the feelings,' implying deep-seated anger. It occurs again in Plutarch Demetr. c. 22 p. 898 F οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πράττων ὁμοῦ ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, and once in the N. T., Acta App. xii. 20 ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις.

4. διὰ χωμάτων, 'by means of mounds' or 'across mounds,' i.e. by filling up the strait with earth. Her. viii 97 ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαυλοῦς τε ('merchant-ships') Φοινικηίους συνέδει, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδὴς ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος,

where Prof. Rawlinson observes that 'in this way Alexander afterwards succeeded in reducing Tyre, though the Tyrians were masters of the sea (Arrian II. 18). The island Tyre, however, lay within half-a-mile of the mainland (Scylax Peripl. p. 101, Quint. Curt. iv 8); while Salamis is nearly a mile from the shore. Also the channel in the former case was at most three fathoms in depth, while at Salamis the depth of the strait reaches four fathoms at the point where it is shallowest.'

5. ἐπάγειν, the usual word for 'leading an army against the enemy.' Hence ἐπακτὸς στρατὸς, Soph. Trach. 258, 'a foreign army of invasion.' τοῖς "Ἑλληνιν] G. § 187.

7. Θεμιστοκλῆς] Cf. Her. viii 108 ff. who, however, attributes Themistokles' change of mind to a conference with Eurybiades. See also Plut. Arist. c. 8. ἀποπειρώμενος

'Ap., 'by way of sounding,' making trial of, 'Aristeides' temper.' G. § 171, 1.

8. λόγῳ] 'in word only,' 'in pretence.'

According to Herodotus VII 109, 110, Themistokles and the Athenians were anxious to push on forthwith to the Hellespont, and there break down the bridge of boats, in order to prevent the escape of Xerxes, but they were restrained by the caution of Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians, who represented that it was dangerous to detain the Persian monarch in the heart of Greece. Themistokles readily suffered himself to be persuaded, and contributed much to divert his countrymen from the idea; while at the same time he sent the faithful Sikinnus a second time to Xerxes, with the intimation that he (Themistokles) had restrained the impatience of the Greeks to proceed without delay and burn the Hellespontine bridge, and that he had thus, from personal friendship to the monarch, secured for him a safe retreat. Though this is the story related by Herodotus, we can hardly believe that with the great Persian land-force in the heart of Attica, there could have been any serious idea of so distant an operation as that of attacking the bridge at the Hellespont. It seems more probable that Themistokles fabricated the intention, with a view of frightening Xerxes away, as well as of establishing a personal claim upon his gratitude in reserve for future contingencies. Such crafty manoeuvres and long-sighted calculations of possibility seem extraordinary; but the facts are sufficiently attested—since Themistokles lived to claim as well as to receive fulfilment of the obligation thus conferred—and though extraordinary, they will not appear inexplicable, if we reflect, first, that the Persian game, even now after the defeat of Salamis, was not only not desperate, but might perfectly well have succeeded, if it had been played with reasonable prudence; next, that there existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. Themistokles knew better than any one else that the cause of Greece had appeared utterly desperate only a few hours before the late battle; moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful. Grote, Vol. v. p. 187, ed. 1. According to Thucydides I 137, 4, Themistokles did actually claim credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. He makes him speak in a letter addressed to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, of an *εὐεργεσία* being owed to him because of his *ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γαφύρων (ἢν ψευδῶς προσποιήσατο) τότε δ' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν*. Comp. Nep. c. 5 *Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorum eum (Xerxem) fecit, id agi ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur idque ei persuasit*.

γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο, 'made a proposal.' So Thuc. i. 128, 5 γνώμην ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι, ii 2, 4 γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, vii 72, 2 γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο βιάσασθαι τὸν ἑκπλουν. But in Thuc. iii 36, 1 γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο=ἐβουλευόντο 'they conferred together.' Cf. Plut. Marcell. c. 13 p. 305 ἁ ἐποιήσατο γνώμην ἢ βουλή μὴδὲν...δεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους ἀνθρώπων ἀνδρῶν, Cat. c. 41 p. 778 καὶ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι γνώμην ἐποιήσαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ὑπάτειαν μετέναι. Arrian uses the phrase with ὅτι and ὥς, as in Anab. iv 27, 5 γνώμην ποιησάμενος ὅτι...ἐνδύσονται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, 29, 9 γνώμην ποιοῦμενος ὥς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐσόμενον τὸ ἔργον, i 1, 10 γνώμην πεποίητο ὅτι...διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν (=ἐγνώκεσαν 'they had made up their minds').

10. ὅπως...λάβωμεν] G. § 216, 2. τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ.] Cf. Arist. c. 9, 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὸ ζεύγμα διακόψαντας.

11. δυσχεραίνοντος, 'exhibiting his displeasure.'

12. τρυφῶντι, 'sitting at ease,' so. ὑπὸ σκιάδι § 2.

13. ἀν...καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην, 'should we force him to fight for fear of extremities,' 'reduce him to the necessity of fighting to save his life,' Arist. 9, 3 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἀμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, Thes. comp. c. Rom. c. 1 p. 37 ἁ ὑπὸ δέους ἀνδρείους γενόμενος καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν μεγάλα δι' ἀνάγκην παραγενόμενος.

§ 2. 16. σκιάδι χρυσῇ, 'a golden canopy stretched over him, after the fashion of effeminate Asiatics.' Cf. Anton. c. 26 p. 927 b of Cleopatra sailing on the river Cydnus κατέκειτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοστάσῳ.

17. ἐφ' ἡσυχίας] so ἐπ' ἀδείας, secure, Plut. Sol. c. 22.

πάσιν αὐτὸς παρών, 'superintending all operations in person.'

18. ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρεμένα, 'will retrieve his losses,' 'repair his negligences.' Cf. Dem. c. Dionysod. p. 1295, 20, ἐπανορθούμενοι τὸ ἀκούσιον σύμπτωμα, Demosth. (?) Prooem. 16 p. 1429, 1 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δευὰ ἐπανορθοῦν, Lys. p. 197, 13 ἐπὶ ἡνῶρθωσαν τὰ ὑφ' ἐτέρων δυστυχηθέντα.

19. βέλτιον] G. § 75. ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων, *de summa rerum*, 8, 1.

21. ἑτέραν προσκατασκευάσαντας, 'building another besides.' εἴπερ οἷόν τε, sc. ἐστί.

22. τὸν ἀνθρωπον, contemptuously, 'the man,' 'the fellow,' as often with or without the article. Cf. Plat. Phaed. c. 66 p. 117 π οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέλευεν ὁ ἀνθρωπος (sc. qui Socrati venenum praebebat), Phaedr. p. 356 π μαίνεται ἀνθρωπος, Prot. p. 314 π μόγις... ἡμῶν ἀνθρωπος (ianitor) ἀνέψξε τὴν θύραν, Plut. Cat. c. 24 p. 351 Δ ὁ λόγος ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἀνθρωπον, *de inim. util.* c. 9 p. 91 Δ συλλαβὴν τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην. So Cam. c. 15 τὴν ἀνθρωπον, 'the woman.' Similarly *homo* is used in Latin, as in Plaut. Men. prol. 66 *abstrahitque hominem in palatum malam crucem*, Ter. Phorm. Prol. 2; iv 2, 1. See n. to 12, 3.

24. ὥρα, sc. ἐστί, 'it is high time.'

25. πάντας ἡμᾶς] from this it might seem that the proposal was made in a council of war; yet Aristides, not being one of the generals, could not have been present; ἐδοξε 1. 27 'it was resolved' points to the same conclusion. ὁππότε ἀπαλλαγίσεται] G. § 217.

26. τὴν ταχίστην, sc. ὁδόν, 7, 2; 3, 1.

27. πέμπει τινα] Herod. viii. 110 speaks only of certain trustworthy persons, and amongst them Sikinnos again, see above 12, 2.

28. εὐνούχων] Her. viii. 105, 3 παρὰ τοῖσι βαρβάρουσι τιμῶν τοιοῦτοι εἰσι οἱ εὐνούχοι πλὴν ἐνέκα τῆς πάσης.

29. Ἀρνάκην] Aristeid. c. 9 πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμ. ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύ

σας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει σωζέσθαι βουλόμενος. **δνόματι**] 6, 1.

1. **κεκρατηκώτας**] G. § 277, 2. **ἀναπλεῖν κτλ.**, 'to put out to sea and sail into the Hellespont to the bridge of boats.' Dem. de Cherson. § 15 p. 93, 21 **ἡμῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἐν-θρόνδ' ἀναπλεῦσαι**, i.e. *Athenis versus Hellespontum classe subvehi*.

2. **γεφύραν**] not pleonastic, but explanatory of **ζεῦγμα** as defining its object. Plut. apophth. p. 174 **π τὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ζεῦγμα λύσαντας**, Diod. Sic. xi 19 **τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην δηλώσοντα ὅσοι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πλεῦσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα λύειν τὴν γέφυραν**.

§ 3. 3. **κηδόμενος βασιλέως**] G. § 171, 2. Cf. Herod. viii 110 **ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσέα· ὧα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν**.

4. **περαιοῦσθαι**, 'to cross over it,' preceded by **μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ διατριβήν**, 'whilst he himself creates delay among the allies.' Cf. Thuc. iii 38 **χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιήσαντων**, Demosth. c. Everg. § 63 p. 1158, 8 **διατριβὰς ἐμποιών**, Philipp. iii § 71 p. 129, 14 **ὧα χρόνους ἐμποιήτε τοῖς πράγμασιν**, c. Aristocr. § 93 **χρόνους ἐμποίησαντες**.

According to Herod. Themistokles hoped by this to establish a claim upon the king, that he might have a safe retreat in case any mischance should befall him at Athens, and Thucydides says that Themistokles did actually claim credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. 'It is difficult,' says Rawlinson, 'to imagine him looking forward at this time to such a contingency as exile. Still, as Mr Grote observes, 'long-sighted cunning' was one of the leading traits of his character. 'A clever man, tainted with such constant guilt, might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful.' Grote, Vol. v. p. 188, 189.

7. **περίφοβος**] Diod. l. c. **περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπαρδου στερηθῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλασσοκρατούντων**. **διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν**, 'set about making his retreat in all haste.'

8. **πέφραν πάρεσχεν**, sc. **ἐαυτῆς**, 'gave proof of itself,' 'was manifested,' in respect to Mardonius.

26. *δοι ταχ[ιουσι]* G. § 243. Cf. Thucyd. i 91.

27. *κατηγορούντος*, sc. *δοι ταχιζουσι τὸ ἄστυ*.  
*ἐπιτηδες*, 'for the express purpose.'

28. *ἐκέλευεν*, sc. *τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας*.

30. *ἐμβάλλον χρόνον*, like *διατριβὰς ἐμποιῶν*, 16, 3.

25 1. *δντ' αὐτοῦ—ὑπάρχαν*, 'to be at their disposal in his stead,' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cf. Thuc. 91, 2 *περὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων*) ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν.

2. *δ καὶ συνέβη*, 'which in fact happened,' i.e. his expectations were realised.

3. *γνόντες*, 'when they ascertained the truth' from Themistokles himself, for he threw off the mask and avowed the stratagem practised.

4. *ἀδήλως*, *occulte*, 'secretly.' Thuc. i. 92 *ὁργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τῆς μέντοι βουλῆσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο*.

§ 2. 5. *ἐκ τούτου*, 'after this,' in B. C. 477, cf. Thuc. i 93.

Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in Themistokles' archonship towards the enlargement of the Peiraeus; see Thucyd. i 93 *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν—ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν—νομίζων τὸ χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφνεῖς*, i.e. Zea, Cantharus and Aphrodisia or Peiraeus proper, or Munychia, Zea and Piraeus proper.

6. *τῇ τῶν λιμένων εὐφύτῃ*, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' Nep. Them. c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequipararet, utilitate superaret*.

7. *ἀρμοττόμενος*, 'endeavouring to adapt.'

8. *τρόπον τινά*, 'in some measure,' G. § 160, 2.

9. *ἀντιπολιτευόμενος*, 'pursuing an opposite policy to.' Cf. Thuc. ii 15.

§ 2. 20. Diodorus also (xi 27) says that he went to Sparta on invitation. According to Herodotus he went there *θέλων τιμηθῆναι*, because the prize of honour, to which he was really entitled, had been withheld from him by the chiefs at the Isthmus.

'The Spartans,' says Prof. Rawlinson, 'were afraid that in his disappointment he might entertain projects dangerous to Greece, and wished to bring him back to good humour. Among other favours they presented him with a sum of money double the amount of that which Polykrates and Ameinias had received. To his acceptance of this sum Diodorus ascribes it, that he was superseded in his command by Xanthippos.'

22. ἀριστέων] G. § 137. θαλλοῦ] ἐλαίης, acc. to Herod. viii 124.

23. τῶν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρῶτεον, 'the finest of their chariots.' G. § 168. Herod. l.c. ἐδωρήσαντό μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι.

24. τριακοσίους τῶν νέων] Herod. l.c. προέπεψαν ἀπύοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὐδων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μόνον δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιήται προέπεψαν.

These three hundred were the picked regiment of Sparta, forming the active guard and police of the country, the flower of the youth, chosen on aristocratic principles: for the ephors appointed three hippagretae, each of whom chose 100 young men, with a statement of the grounds of his selection, Müller's Dor. iii 12 § 5, Plut. Lykurg. c. 25, Xen. de rep. Lac. iv 3, Hell. v 3, 9, Dion. Halic. ii 13 according to whom they were both horsemen and hoplites. Thucydides also is an important witness to the unusual character of the honours which Them. received: μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων.

πομπῶς, as 'a convoy, escort of honour.'

25. Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων, 'the next Olympian games were being celebrated,' i.e. Ol. 76, 1=B.C. 476, G. § 143 note 3.

26. παρελθόντος, 'when he appeared in public,' cf. 4, 1.

27. τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν] G. § 171, 2. The story is not told by Herodotus, but Pausanias (viii 50, 3) mentions it, where



speaking of the presence of Philopoemen at the Nemean games and the applause he received there he adds: τοιοῦτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυνθάνομαι συμβῆναι· καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπαύεσθαι τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον ('the spectators').

29. ἐπιδακνύειν κτλ., '*digito monstrare*,' 'pointed him out to foreigners, while admiring and applauding him,' G. § 277, 6, note 1.

23 1. ὁμολογήσαι—ἀπέχων, 'acknowledged that he now reaped in full the fruit due to him for all his labours in behalf of Greece.' ἀπέχειν = 'to receive what is due,' 'to receive in full,' cf. Plut. Publicol. c. 14 p. 104 B, Solon c. 22 p. 90 F τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέχει, Alex. c. 27 p. 680 B χρήσας τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίππου ἀπέχειν ἐκπλεῖν τὴν δίκην, Aesch. de f. leg. § 50 p. 34 ἀπέχετε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

2. αὐτῷ πονηθέντων] G. § 188, 3.

## CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1. 3. καὶ γὰρ] 'in fact,' 'the truth is.' φιλοτιμώτατος, 'excessively fond of admiration.' εἰ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι] 'if we are to judge (i.e. as we may judge) by means of the sayings recorded of him.' διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων for τοῖς ἀπομνημονευομένοις.

5. ναύαρχος, 'admiral of the fleet,' who was one of the ten generals (στρατηγοί) elected every year.

6. οὐδὲν—ἐχρημάτιζεν, 'transacted no private nor public business.' Cf. Thuc. i 87, but χρηματίζεσθαι (21, 1) is 'to do business for one self,' 'to make money,' cf. Thuc. vii 13, 3 αἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι. κατὰ μέρος, *singillatim*, 'one by one.' Cf. 15, 2.

7. ἐπανεβάλλετο, 'he used to put off from day to day.' Cf. Herod. i 91 τρία ἔτη ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἀλωσιν, Phalar. Ep. 69 ἐπεμψά σοι τὸ ἀργύριον οὐδ' ὅσον ἐπαναβαλόμενος.

8. τὸ προσπίπτον, 'any business that devolved upon him, 'necessary business.'

9. ἴνα—δοκῇ] G. § 216, 2. ὁμοῦ ]( κατὰ μέρος.  
πλείστον, i. q. μάλιστα.

12. ἐκπεσόντας, 'cast ashore,' not 'floating in the sea,' (Stewart), cf. 10, 5. παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν] 2, 6 l. 27.

13. περικεμένους, *alligata habentes* 'having round them,' 'wearing,' G. § 164. Cf. Herod. i 171 περὶ τοῖς αὐχέσι περικείμενοι (τὰς ἀσπίδας), Plut. Pelop. c. 30 p. 294 c τὸν στέφανον δὲ πίνων περιέκειτο. In purely classical Greek κέμαι is the recognised *passive perfect* of τίθεμαι, τέθειμαι being the *perf. middle*: e. g. ὁ τιθεὶς νόμον τέθεικε: ἡ τιθεμένη πόλις νόμον τέθειται, ὁ τιθέμενος (pass.) νόμος κεῖται: so a father τίθεται ὄνομα παιδί, but παιδί κεῖται ὄνομα. See Shilleto on Thucyd. i 37, 3 who quotes as an exception belonging to the days of decadence Menander fr. inc. 65 τῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα διατεθειμένῳ κακῶς. ψάλια, 'bracelets,' a favourite ornament of the Persians, as also στρεπτοὺς (pr. στρεπτοὺς κύκλους) *torques*, collars of twisted or linked metal, Herod. iii 20.

§ 2. 16. Cf. Mor. p. 185 c, apophth. 8 Ἀντιφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἐρῶντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ καταφρονούντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακεύοντος, Ὡ μειράκιον, εἶπεν, ὁψέ μὲν ἀμφοτέροι, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.

17. ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον, 'who had treated him disdainfully.'

19. ὅψι μὲν κτλ., 'it has taken some time, but we have both at once come to our senses:' in his own case, because he had recovered from his passion.

21. πλατάνῳ, as being ἀμφιλαφής, 'wide-spreading,' Plat. Phaedr. p. 230 v.

22. χαμαῖζομένους, 'in a storm.'

24. τοῦ Σεριφίου] so 11, 4 τοῦ Ἑρετριώως, as being well known from the story; cf. Plat. de rep. i c. 4 p. 339 v: τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὖ ἔχει, δς τῷ Σεριφίῳ λαιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι,

she was sitting at breakfast (i.e. was growing vigorous), he kneaded for her the Peiraeus,' in the double sense of he kneaded it i.e. attached it closely to her, and he kneaded it for her as a dainty dish. It is in the former sense that Plutarch objects to the expression on the ground that the Peiraeus was rather a principal part of Athens than an adjunct. So even according to Thucydides l. c. Themistokles τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήγει, ἥν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάοντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνδίστασθαι, i.e. 'he considered the Peiraeus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world.'

18. ἐξήψε, 'fastened it to,' 'made it depend on.'

19. 58ον, 'by which means he made the people (*plebs*) powerful against the nobles (*optimates*).' Arist. Pol. 5, 3, 5 μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τῷ ἄστυ, ib. ὁ ναυτικός δῆλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα μάχης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν λυχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν.

'The conversion of Athens into a sea-power from a land-power was a change not in harmony with that old-fashioned Hellenism, undisturbed uniformity of life and narrow range of active duty and experience which Aristides seems to have approved in common with the subsequent philosophers. The seaman was naturally more of a wanderer and cosmopolite than the heavy-armed soldier; the land-service was a type of steadiness and inflexible ranks, the sea-service that of mutability and adventure. Such was the idea entertained by Plato and other philosophers (legg. iv pp. 705, 706, Isokrat. Panathenaik. c. 43), though we may remark that they do not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habits of obedience far more complete, than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman: a training beginning with Themistokles and reaching its full perfection about the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Grote, Hist. Vol. v. p. 67 ff.

20. κελυστάς, 'commanders of the rowers,' lat. *portisculos* or *hortatores*, the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where

spoiled child over his mother. It is a favourite word with Plutarch: cf. de Pyth. or. c. 16 p. 401 *ἐντρυφῶν τῷ ἱερῷ*, Pel. c. 30 p. 294 *οὐχ οὕτω ἐνετρυφῆσε*, Arist. c. Cat. comp. δι' ὅγκον ἐντρυφῶσαν τοῖς ἄρχεῖν ἀξιούσω, Sull. c. 5 p. 453 *ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπήνεσαν ἐντρύψαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις*, Eum. c. 15 p. 592 *οἱ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντρύφοντες*. The story is told also in Cato mai. c. 8 p. 240 *ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος 'πάντες' εἶπεν 'ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες.'* τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετενηνεγμένον ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς 'ὦ γύναι' εἶπεν 'Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σὺ, σοῦ δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὥστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἐξουσίας, δι' ἣν ἀνόητος ὢν πλείστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται, also in the Apophthegmata, p. 185 D.

9. δι' ἐκείνην, 'by means of her.'

12. ἰδίος τις, *singularis quidam, rarus*, 'peculiar,' 'different from everybody else.' Cf. de adulat. c. 14 p. 57 *ἰδίου ἀνθρώπου, πάντα πρῶτος φέρει, πάντα ἄλῳπως*, Aem. Paul. c. 37 p. 275 *ἂν ἐνιοὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον ἱστοροῦσι*, ib. 38, 2 *κάκεινο δ' ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου*, Fab. Max. c. 1, 7 *νοῦς ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα καὶ βῆθος ἔχων*, Marc. c. 7, 4 *καὶ νικῶσι νίκην ἰδίαν τε καὶ τρόπον περιττὴν καὶ παράδοξον*, Cebet. Tab. 11 *γραφὴ μύθους ἔχουσα ἰδίου*.

13. ἐν πᾶσι, 'amongst all men,' not 'in all things.' *πυπράσκων*, 'when he put up for sale.'

14. ἐκέλευε, sc. τὸν κήρυκα, *praeconem*, 'the crier.' καί, i.e. among other advantages.

15. τῶν μνημένων] G. § 168. The story is introduced differently by Cic. de off. II § 71 *Themistocles cum consuleretur, utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato diviti filiam collocaret, 'ego vero' inquit 'malo virum, qui pecunia egeat, quam pecuniam quae viro.'*

16. τοῦ πλουσίου] G. § 177.

17. ἀνδρὸς, sc. δεόμενα.

18. μὲν οὖν, 'so then,' in concluding one subject, and passing on to a fresh one. Cf. 2, 5 n.

## CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. 19. γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων, 'when he had done with his famous exploits'; cf. 2, 1 ἐν σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος, Marc. Cato 1, 6 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. ἐκείνων, viz. those recorded in c. 1—c. 17.

20. ἀνοικοδομεῖν, 'to rebuild.' Thuc. i 89, 3 τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐκ αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

21. Ἰσοκράτῃ] 1, 3 l. 22. Θεόπομπος] Theopompus of Chios, the greatest of Isokrates' pupils, was one of the lost historians of the fourth century, born about B.C. 380. He was twice exiled from his native country. Besides a number of ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι, the most successful of which appears to have been his panegyric on Mausolus, prince of Caria, he wrote in 12 books a continuation of Thucydides' history from B.C. 411 to the battle of Knidus in B.C. 394. But his most voluminous and greatest work was his Φιλιππικά or History of Philip, father of Alexander the Great, from B.C. 360 to B.C. 336 in 58 books which embraced in digressions all the contemporary history down to the king's death. The work, when these digressions were omitted, was reduced by Philip III of Macedonia to 16 books. His subject was treated in an intensely rhetorical spirit, seeking everywhere for effect rather than strict truth. Mr Mahaffy, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. II p. 437, calls him 'a self-conscious, rhetorical, Isocratic ape of the great historian Herodotus.' See Introduction.

22. χρήμασι πείσας] So also Andok. 3, 38 λαθόντες δὲ Πελοποννησίους ἐτείχισαμεν τὰ τείχη, πριάμενοι δὲ παρὰ Λακε-

δαιμονίων μὴ δοῦναι τούτων δίκην, βιασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατειργασάμεθα. Grote v p. 330 n. 1 remarks that 'Theopompus' statement is not inconsistent with the narrative of Thucydides, but the latter either had not heard or did not believe it, although it is not improbable in itself.

μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους] Sparta shared the jealous and uneasiness of the allies at the fortification of Athens, and would have been pleased to see all the other Grecian cities as well systematically defenceless like herself; Grote v p. 327 who quotes Thuc. I 90 τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μὴτ' ἐκείνους μὴτ' ἄλλον μηδὲνα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεόν τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην, Nepos Them. c. 6 namque Lacedaemonii caussam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quas hostes possiderent, Atheniensis aedificantis prohibere sunt conati.

23. οἱ πλείστοι, sc. ἱστοροῦσι, above all Thucydides, whose authority must outweigh that of all others put together. παρακρουσάμενος, 'by outwitting, beguiling, misleading them.' The word is properly used of a seller who strikes the scale so as to weigh falsely.

Alcib. 17 fin. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐτυχεν, ὃν ἤξιον, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας, Thes. c. 26, 1 καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον λαβεῖν, ib. 10, 3, Sol. 30, 2 τοὺς πολίτας παρακρουόμενος, Fab. Max. 19, 3 δαίγῳ παρακρουσάμενος ἐσφῆλε τὸν ἄνδρα, Alc. comp. c. Coriol. 2, 1; Lys. 8, 3; Brut. 50, 3; Dem. adv. Lept. § 74 p. 479 ὅσην τὸ νικῶντας τοῦ παρακρουσαμένου πρᾶττεω ὁτιοῦν ἐντιμώτερον, τοσούτῳ κάλλιον Κόνωνα τὰ τεῖχη στήσαι Θεμιστοκλέους, Olynth. II p. 22 A, Philipp. II p. 66 B, 68 B, de Halon. p. 67 B, adv. Macart. p. 1032 D, Plat. Lys. p. 215 c.

24. μὲν γάρ] 11, 2.

25. ἐπιγραψάμενος, *legationis titulum sibi ascribens, legationem simulans*, 'assuming,' properly 'setting down in the title.' Cf. Demetr. c. 42 p. 909 B τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσωυμίαν, Timol. c. 36 πολλάκις ἔφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι βούλομενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπεγράψατο, *quod cum servare vellet Italiam, suum huic rei adscripserit nomen*, i.e. *quod sibi potissimum huius rei mandaverit administrationem (Held)*.

26. *ὅτι ταχί[ζουσι]* G. § 243. Cf. Thucyd. i 91.

27. *κατηγορούντος*, sc. *ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ*.  
*ἐπίτηδες*, 'for the express purpose.'

28. *ἐκέλευεν*, sc. *τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας*.

30. *ἐμβάλλον χρόνον*, like *διατριβὰς ἐμποίων*, 16, 3.

25 1. *ἀντ' αὐτοῦ—ὑπάρχαν*, 'to be at their disposal in his stead,' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cf. Thuc. 91, 2 *περὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων*) *ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν*.

2. *δ καὶ συνέβη*, 'which in fact happened,' i.e. his expectations were realised.

3. *γνόντες*, 'when they ascertained the truth' from Themistokles himself, for he threw off the mask and avowed the stratagem practised.

4. *ἄδηλως*, *occulte*, 'secretly.' Thuc. i. 92 *ὁργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τῆς μὲντοι βουλῆσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἄδηλως ἤχοντο*.

§ 2. 5. *ἐκ τούτου*, 'after this,' in B.C. 477, cf. Thuc. i 93.

Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in Themistokles' archonship towards the enlargement of the Peiraeus; see Thucyd. i 93 *ἐπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν—ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν—νομίζων τὸ χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφνεῖς*, i.e. Zea, Cantharus and Aphrodision or Peiraeus proper, or Munychia, Zea and Piraeus proper.

6. *τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφύτιαν*, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' Nep. Them. c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequipararet, utilitate superaret*.

7. *ἀρμολττόμενος*, 'endeavouring to adapt.'

8. *τρόπον τινά*, 'in some measure,' G. § 160, 2.

9. *ἀντιπολιτευόμενος*, 'pursuing an opposite policy' to. Cf. Thuc. ii 15.

10. λέγεται, i.e. by the rationalistic interpreters of legends. *πραγματευόμενοι κτλ.*, 'exerting themselves to draw them away.' Cf. *quaest. conv.* vii 6, 21 p. 709 *πραγματευόμενος ἀρχὴν τινα φιλίας δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τὸν καλοῦντα.*

12. *φυτεύοντας*] chiefly with olive and fig trees. Cf. *Thuc.* i 2 οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, *Isaeus* 9 de *Astyp.* her. § 28, p. 77 τὸ χωρίον—ἐφύτευσε καὶ ἐγείργει.

13. *διέδοσαν*, 'spread abroad.' Cf. *Alcib.* 31, 2 *διαδοὺς λόγον*, *Sull.* 6 *διεδίδου λόγον ὡς*, *Demosth.* 31, 1, *Sertor.* 25, 1 *λόγους μοχθηροὺς διεδίδου τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις*, *Luc.* 34 *λόγους χρηστους διαδοὺς*, *Arat.* 6, 1 *διεδόθη λόγος ὡς*, *Xen. Cyr.* iv 2, 10 *λόγος διεδόθη*, *rumor diditus est*, *Isocr. Phil.* § 7, p. 83 *διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς*, *Erag.* § 74 p. 206 *β τοὺς λόγους διαδοθέντας ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὐ φρονούντων διατριβαῖς.*

14. *ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας*, 'when he disputed possession of the country with her'; after the common legend about the naming of Athens, according to which Poseidon and Athena contended for the possession of the city. The gods resolved that whichever of them produced a gift most useful to mortals should have possession of the land. Poseidon struck the ground with his trident and straightway a horse appeared. Athena then planted the olive, whereupon the gods decreed that the olive was more useful to man than the horse, and gave the city to the goddess, after whom it was called. Cf. *Herod.* v. 82. τὸν Ποσειδῶνα—ἐνίκησε, 'prevailed over Poseidon by showing' etc. Cobet would read *ἐρίσαντος*—Ποσειδῶνος, taking *ἐνίκησεν* absolutely = *superior discessit*, gained the precedence.

15. τὴν μορίαν, 'the sacred' olive in the Acropolis; the name was afterwards given to all the olives that grew in the precincts of temples and were state property. τοῖς δικασταῖς] according to one legend, the gods, according to another, Kekrops or Kranaus or Erechtheus.

§ 3. 16. Ἀριστοφάνης] *Equit.* v. 815 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν, i.e. 'and besides this, when



she was sitting at breakfast (i.e. was growing vigorous), he kneaded for her the Peiraeus,' in the double sense of he kneaded it i.e. attached it closely to her, and he kneaded it for her as a dainty dish. It is in the former sense that Plutarch objects to the expression on the ground that the Peiraeus was rather a principal part of Athens than an adjunct. So even according to Thucydides I. c. Themistokles τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἅνυ πόλεως καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι, i.e. 'he considered the Peiraeus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world.'

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19. ὅθεν, 'by which means he made the people (*plebs*) powerful against the nobles (*optimates*).' Arist. Pol. 5, 3, 5 μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τῷ ἄστυ, ib. ὁ ναυτικός δῆλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα μάχης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ισχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν.

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20. κελυστάς, 'commanders of the rowers,' lat. *portisculos* or *hortatores*, the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where

there were as many as 175 rowers, as was the case in the Greek trireme.

21. δὶδ] because of the connexion between democracy and sea-life. τὸ βῆμα—ἀπέστρεψαν, 'the thirty changed the position of the βῆμα or tribune in the Pnyx which had been made to face the sea, so that it looked towards the country.'

The Pnyx was the usual place of assembly of the people in the time of Thucydides (VIII 97) and Aristophanes (Eq. 42). It was situated to the west of the Areopagus on a slope connected with mount Lykabettos; semicircular in form, with a boundary wall and an area of about 12,000 square yards. On the north and close to the wall was the βῆμα, a stone platform, ten or eleven feet high, ascended by steps: it was cut out of the solid rock, whence it was sometimes called ὁ λίθος (Arist. Pax 630). Its position was such that it commanded a view of the sea from behind, and of the Propylaea and Parthenon in front, though the hill of Areopagus lay partly between it and the Akropolis.

22. Πινυκ] a later form for πυνυκί.

23. οἱ τριάκοντα] 'the thirty men' usually called 'the thirty tyrants' to whom the government of Athens was entrusted by the Lacedaemonian admiral Lysander after his capture of the city in B.C. 404 = Ol. 94, 4. Their power lasted for eight months till Thrasybulus occupied Phyle and advanced to the Peiraeus.

How significant such apparently trifling matters may be, Plutarch remarks very sensibly in his life of Gaius Gracchus, c. 5: τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀφορούντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν (λέγεται) δημηγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρὰ παραγκλίσσει καὶ μεταθίσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενέγκων τρόπον τινα τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας, i.e. 'whereas all the popular leaders who preceded him faced the senate and the comitium, he is recorded as the first who turned his face the other way to the forum while haranguing the people, and he continued to do so from that time; and by a small deviation and shifting of posture he stirred a great question, and in a way transformed the government from an aristocratical to a democratical form, as by this new attitude intimating that the orators should address themselves to the many and not to the Senate.'

25. ἀνιπαρχ[α] observe the chiasmic antithesis.

## CHAPTER XX

## § 1. 27. Cf. Arist. c. 22, Cic. de off. iii. § 49.

'This celebrated story has long ceased,' says Grote, Hist. v p. 27 note 2, 'to be received as a matter of history. It is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Herodotus, as well as with all the conditions of the time: Pagasae was Thessalian, and as such hostile to the Greek fleet rather than otherwise: the fleet seems to have never been there: moreover we may add, that taking matters as they then stood, when the fear from Persia was not at all terminated, the Athenians would have lost more than they gained by burning the ships of the other Greeks, so that Themistoklēs was not very likely to conceive the scheme, nor Aristeidēs to describe it in the language put into his mouth. The story is probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age, who wished to contrast justice with expediency and Aristeidēs with Themistoklēs—as well as to bestow at the same time a panegyric upon Athens in the days of her glory.'

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, as opp. to the later oligarchs c. 19, 3.

29. κατήρεν, *appulit*, 'put into port.' Cf. Thuc. viii 31, 2 αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες κατήραν ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας ταῖς Κλαζομέναις νήσοις, ib. 42, 4 ἐς Κνίδον κατάραντες, ib. 99, 3 καταίρει ἐς τὴν Ἰκάρου, ib. 101, 2 ἐς Σίγωνα κατήραν. Mark the distinction between the tenses, κατήρεν 'had put in' and διεχέιμαζε 'was passing the winter.'

Παγασαῖς] Pagasae was a port on the Pagasaeon bay, coast of Thessaly, south of Iolkos. Cic. de off. l. c. in telling the story speaks of Gytheum, and of the Lacedaemonian instead of the Grecian fleet.

26 2. ἀπόρρητον, 'not to be divulged.' Arist. Eq. 648. τοὺς πολλοὺς] 5, 4.

4. ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περᾶναι, 'should he give his sanction, to execute it.'

6. ἔφρασε—διανοεῖσθαι] G. § 136 note 3. νεώριον, here = *ναύσταθμον*, 'ships assembled in the roadstead,' Thuc. i 108, 3 τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπέκρησαν, i.e. Gytheum.

8. προελθάν] see Cr. App.

9. πράξεως] G. § 175, 1.

11. παύσασθαι, sc. τῆς πράξεως.

§ 2. 12. ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις, 'at special meetings of the Amphictyonic league,' viz. the most famous and important one (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον) which met twice a year at Thermopylae near the temple of Ceres at Anthela, and at Delphi.

Its twelve members were the Phokians, Lokrians, Dolopes at the foot of Mt Pindus, Oetaeans or Anians in the upper valley of the Spercheius, the Achaeans of Phthiotia, Malians, Magnetes, Perrhaebi, Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians. The council consisted of deputies from each of these states of two descriptions, *ἱερομνήμονες* (=σύνεδροι) and *πυλαγόραι* or *πυλαγόροι*. The original Amphictyonies (*ἀμφικτυόνες*=*περίοικοι*) were the stated meetings of tribes possessing some common sanctuary, without regard to difference of origin, for the sole purpose of promoting harmony and celebrating common festivals, not from motives of foreign policy or party views. In these respects they were distinguished not only from leagues offensive and defensive, but also from coalitions of kindred clans, which, although mutually independent, continued to transact affairs of common interest in general assemblies, at the same time honouring the deity of their race by a common festival. Heeren, *Political Antiq. of Greece*, c. 1 § 11.

13. ἐισηγουμένων ὅπως, 'making a proposal that,' 'introducing a motion that.' Elsewhere *ἐισηγεῖσθαι* is followed either by the infinitive, as in Public. c. 16 p. 105 F, Perikl. c. 37 p. 172 D, Lys. c. 15 p. 441 D, or by the objective acc., as in Perikl. c. 13 p. 160 A, Alkib. c. 20 p. 201 B, Lys. comp. c. Sull. c. 2 p. 476 E, C. Caesar c. 30 p. 722 E, Tib. Gracch. c. 13 p. 839 D, Anton. c. 31 p. 929 F, Dion c. 48 p. 979 B.

15. αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι] G. § 276, 1, § 283, 4.

16. φοβηθεὶς μὴ—ἐπικρατήσωσι] G. § 218. Θερραλοὺς] The Thessalians and Thebans had sided with the Persians, the Argives remained neutral. The latter were members of the league in virtue of their Dorian origin, and, as such, were represented by Sparta. The other members of the league who joined the Medes were the Lokrians, Dolopes, Perrhoebians, Oetaeans, Achaeans of Phthi-

otis, Malians, Magnetes, Boeotians (except those of Thespiæ and Plataea); in fact the majority, Herod. vii 132.

ἐτι δέ, 'and besides.'

17. παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων, 'should have complete control over the votes.'

18. τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις] G. § 184, 2.

19. συνέπει ταῖς πόλεσι] G. § 187.

20. Πυλαγόρων] The Πυλαγόραι (or -αι) (πόλαι=θερμόπυλαι, ἀγείρω) were the deputies of the Greek states at the Amphiktyonic Council. Bekker Anecd. p. 292 ἐκλήθη δὲ Πυλαγόρας παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Πυλαίᾳ ἀγορεύειν· Πυλαία δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνέδριον.

τριάκοντα καὶ μία πόλεις] Herodotus mentions Greeks from 36 states as having taken part in the three great battles of Thermopylae, Salamis or Plataea. The list given by Pausanias (v 23, 1) of the nations inscribed upon the statue of Jupiter at Olympia contains 27. In the recently discovered inscription on the famous golden tripod, supported on the serpentine pillar, which after the defeat of Xerxes was consecrated in the temple of Delphi (Herod. ix 81, Thuc. i 182), and the bronze stand of which was carried to Constantinople by the emperor Constantine and placed in the hippodrome there (Gibbon, Rom. Emp. c. 17), there is a list of thirty names. These are the Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Eginetans, Megareans, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plataeans, Thespians, Mykenaeans, Keans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styreans, Eleans, Potidaeans, Leucadians, Anaktorian, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambrakiots, and Lepreata. A blank occurs in the first line of the inscription before the name of the Athenians, in which we may be sure that the Lacedaemonians commemorated their own patriotism. The whole number of names inscribed would thus be thirty-one. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. iv, Book ix, note A.

23. θανόντων δ' sc. ἐστὶ. G. § 228. ἐκσπόνδου, 'excluded from the league.' According to Herodotus vii 132 the Greeks who took up arms to resist the Persians swore to take a tithe of the goods of those who delivered themselves up without necessity and give it to the God at Delphi. Cf. Her. Sic. xi 3.

24. ἐπὶ ταῖς—πόλεσιν ἔσται, 'shall be in the power of, at the mercy of, the two or three greatest cities.' Cf. Thuc. II 84, 2 τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, IV 29 4 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν, VII 12, 3 αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Antiphon de caede Herodis § 3 ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις εἶναι, 'to be dependent upon.'

25. ἐκ τούτου, 'from this circumstance,' 'in consequence of this.' μὲν οὖν] 2, 4 l. 4.

26. προσέκρουσε, 'gave offence to,' 'made an enemy of,' lit. 'knocked up against,' 'came into collision with.' The verb προσκρούειν means either *offendo in aliqua re* or *offendor*, 'to give' or 'take offence;' Dem. c. Timokr. § 6 p. 701, 24 προσέκρουσ' ἀνθρώπῳ πονηρῷ (*in offensionem hominis improbi incurre*), ὃ τελευτῶσ' ὅλην προσέκρουσεν ἡ πόλις, c. Mid. 61 p. 534, 14 ὅτι τῷ προσέκρουσε καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἦν, c. Aristog. 41 p. 782, 20 προπετῶς ἅπασι προσκρούων, Plut. Thes. c. 2 p. 1 r λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκρούσαι πολλοῖς, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 d προσέκρουσεν ἡδὴ πολλοῖς, Public. c. 7 p. 100 f πάντάσιν προσκρούσας ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχήν, de am. mult. 6 p. 95 c ἐνὶ ὑπουργοῦντα προσκρούειν πολλοῖς, coniug. pr. 39 φεύγειν το προσκρούειν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. διό καὶ, 'for which reason in fact.'

27. τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς] 7, 2, Cam. c. 38 βουλόμενος ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν...ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων προῆγεν, Polyb. Hist. XII 13, 6 τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα προῆγον, XVII 43 (26), 3 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμων καὶ προῆγον. Cf. Kim. c. 16 p. 488 d ἡξήθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡδὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπολεμouμένων καὶ τούτων ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων.

The common reading *προῆγοντο*, altered by Reiske into *προῆγον*, is retained by Sintenis. The middle *προάγεσθαι* seems to have been used in this sense, though less frequently, notwithstanding Cobet's assertion to the contrary (*Mnemos. l.c.*): e.g. apoth. p. 176 B τιμῇ καὶ προάγεταί πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον.

ἀντίπαλον καθιστάντες, 'by way of setting him up as a political rival.'

## CHAPTER XXI

§ 1. 29. *καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις*] i.e. not to the Lacedaemonians only.

30. *χρηματίζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, sc. *τῶν συμμάχων*, 'getting money from them by extortion,' 'making money by them.' See n. to 18, 1. Cf. Polyb. Hist. xxxii 21, 15 *ἐχρηματίζεται τοὺς ἄνδρας*, Isokr. Hel. § 6 p. 209 b *οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄλλου μέλει πλὴν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων*, Lysias c. Eratosth. § 6 *τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι*. In Plato Soph. p. 225 ε *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐρίδων χρηματίζμενον* it means 'making money by a thing': so in Aristot. Pol. 13, 15, 8, Eth. Nicom. viii c. 16 p. 1163<sup>b</sup>, 8 *χρηματίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν*.

Herodotus also (viii c. 112) says that Themistokles obtained money from the islanders *λάβρη τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν*, but in the following story Plutarch places him in too unfavourable a light, because Andros was besieged by the Greek fleet after the battle of Salamis, and not by Themistokles only. Yet he threatened the others that he would bring the Greek fleet upon them if they did not send him the amount he required.

*οἷα* is object to *εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι*.

27

2. *ἀκούσαι*, sc. *πρὸς Ἀνδρίων*, 'to be told in reply.' 'Herodotus] viii c. 111.

3. *ἦκαν ἔφη*] G. § 134, 3.

4. *Βλαν*] in Herod. *Ἀναγκαλῆν*, and *Ἀμνηχανίαν* for *Ἀπορίαν*.

6. *καλῦεσθαι δοῦναι*] G. § 260, 1 and 2 note 2. The Greeks did not get the money eventually but *ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελέεω τῇ Ἀνδρῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα*.

§ 2. 7. *Τιμοκρέων*] Timokreon, the lyric poet, was an athlete of renown and an aristocrat of Ialysus in Rhodes, whence he was banished on suspicion of *medising*. He quarrelled with Simonides, and the two poets gave vent to their anger in recriminatory verses.

8. καθάπτεται, *perstringit, incessit*, 'assails,' 'upbraids,' lit. 'fastens on.' Cf. Thuc. vi 16, 1 ἀναγκή ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μου Νικίας καθήψατο, ib. 82, 1, Plato Crit. p. 52 A ἴσως δὲν μου δικαίως καθάπτοιτο. πικρότερον, 'rather bitterly,' G. § 75.

9. ὧς—διαπραξαμένου, 'for bringing about the restoration of others from exile for a bribe.' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν] ἐπὶ is used of the price for which or the condition upon which: cf. Dem. de f. l. § 332 p. 447, 23 διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι λυμαινομένους τοῖς πράγμασι, c. Timokr. § 200 p. 762, 20 ταῦτα πρᾶττω ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ.

10. καταλθεῖν] 11, 1.

11. προεμένου, 'deserted, betrayed for the sake of money.' The fragment is composed in dactylo-epitrite verse, consisting of trochaic dipodias and dactylic tripodias: at the end of the antistrophe is a trochaic tripodia (*ithyphallicus*).

14. Ξάνθιππον] Xanthippus (10, 5) and Leotychidas, the Spartan king, were both commanders at the battle of Mykale. The former succeeded Themistokles as commander of the Athenian fleet in B.C. 479. τὸ γε] the pers. pronoun is added pleonastically with γε, as in Hom. Odys. xv 327. Cf. the common use of δ γε in Homer. ἐγὼ δὲ] the δὲ in apodosis is frequent in Homer.

15. Observe the synizesis in ἐπαινέω, Τιμοκρέοντα, πλέων, ὑπόπλεως, and the crasis in μὴ ὦραν, the Doric ā for ῆ in Λατώ, Ἀριστοεῖδαν and for ω in ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν; also τὸ for σὺ.

16. ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν] cf. Hom. Od. xi 323 Ἀθηναίων ἱερῶν.

17. ἔνα λῶστον, 'above all others best.' Cf. the emphatic use of unus with superlatives, e.g. Virg. Aen. ii 426 *cadit et Rhipeus iustissimus unus qui fuit in Teucris*: see my note to Cic. or. p. Planc. § 95 l. 10. ἤχθαρε Λατῶ] Sintonis cannot explain this: Blass thinks that she is said to have 'hated him' as a liar, because, like her son, she is herself by preference ἀψευδής.

20. κυβᾶλικοῖσι, 'suitable to a κόβαλος' = 'rogue,' 'knave,' 'knaveish,' 'rascally.' Sintonis reads σκυβαλικοῖσι = 'dirty,'



'mean.' But F<sup>a</sup> has *κυμβαλικοῖσι*, and in Hesychius there is a gloss *κυβηλικὸν τρόπον* without any explanation, followed by *κυβηλιστάς*: τοὺς κακούργους λέγει καὶ κοβάλους. 'Ἰαλῦ-  
σον] Ialysus was one of three old Doric cities in the island of Rhodes, and a member of the Dorian hexapolis. Thuc. viii 44, 2, Herod. ii 182.

21. *ἔβα εἰς δλεθρον*, *abijt in malam rem*, implying a wish that bad luck might go with him.

26. *ὑπόπλεως*, 'filled underhand.' 'Ἰσθμοί] G. § 61 n. 2. Cf. Ποταμοί, Arist. 27, 4. *πανδόκευε γλοιῶς*, 'he acted the host in a stingy fashion.' So Bergk for the vulgate *ἐπανδόκευε γελοῖως*.

*γλοιῶς* appears to have the same meaning as *γλισχρῶς*, *parce, tenaciter*. Hesychius explains it by *νυστακτικῶς* only, but he gives *δυναρδς* = *sordidus* as one meaning of *γλοιῶς*.

23. οἱ δὲ refers to the implied object of *πανδόκευε*. *μὴ ὦραν Θεμιστοκλέους γενέσθαι*, 'that Themistokles may come to no good end,' 'may not live to see next year.' Blaydes ad Aristoph. Lys. v 391 suggests *μὴ ὦρας Θεμιστοκλῆς ἰκέσθαι*, in reference to the common form of imprecation *μὴ ὦρας* (or *ὦραισιν*) *ἰκοιτο* which Eustathius ad Odys. ix 134 (p. 1619, 62) explains *πρὸ ὦρας ἐκθερισθεῖν*, i.e. 'may he be cut off before his time.' Cf. Lucian D. D. vi 4 ἄπαγε· μὴ ὦραισιν ἰκοιτο, τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμῶν, where the Scholiast notes as a solecism *μὴ ὦραισιν* for *μὴ ὦρας*.

§ 3. 29. *ἀναπεπταμένη*, lit. 'spread out,' 'open' (8, 2), p. p. part. from *ἀναπετάννμι*; hence met. *protensus*, 'barefaced,' 'unreserved.' Cf. Plat. Phaedr. c. 17 p. 240 ε παρρησίᾳ κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην χρωμένον, Plut. Symposiac. p. 712 A ἥ τε πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας εὐχέρεια, δεινῶς κατάκορος καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη, de Stoicor. repugnant. p. 1050 c τῇ κακίᾳ—ἀναπεπταμένην παρρησίαν δίδωσιν.

28 3. *Μοῦσα τοῦδε*, κτλ., 'make this song famous:' trochaic dimeters, the two first catalectic; *μέλεος* (with synezesia) depends upon *κλέος*.

5. *ὡς ἔοικόν*, sc. *ἐστὶ*, 'as is fitting.'

6. ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν, 'to have been exiled for medising.' 2, 6; 7, 3; 24, 3. συγκαταψηφισαμένου, 'being one of those who condemned him.'

8. αἰτίαν ἔσχε = ἤτιςτο, hence used with the infin. without article. Cf. 5, 3; 10, 5; 12, 3; 18, 2; 29, 1.

This accusation of treason brought against Themistoklēs at Athens, prior to his ostracism, and at the instigation of the Lacedaemonians—is mentioned by Diodorus xi 51. Thucydides and Plutarch take notice only of the second accusation, after his ostracism. But Diodorus has made his narrative confused, by supposing the first accusation preferred at Athens to have come after the full detection of Pausanias and exposure of his correspondence; whereas these latter events, coming after the first accusation, supplied new proofs before unknown, and thus brought on the second, after Themistoklēs had been ostracised. But Diodorus has preserved to us the important notice of this first accusation at Athens, followed by trial, acquittal and temporary glorification of Themistoklēs—and preceding his ostracism. The indictment stated by Plutarch to have been preferred against Themistoklēs by Leobōtas son of Alkmaeon (c. 23) at the instance of the Spartans, probably relates to the first accusation at which Themistoklēs was acquitted. For when Themistoklēs was arraigned after the discovery of Pausanias, he did not choose to stay, nor was there any actual trial; it is not therefore likely that the name of the accuser would be preserved. GEORGE, v p. 377.

ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτ.ν, 'composed these lines on him.' Cf. Plat. Phaed. c. 4 p. 61 B εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα ποιήματα, Plutarch apophthegm. p. 186 B Ἀλσχύλου ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον. So in Latin, see my n. on Cic. de Off. i § 28, l. 29.

9. οὐκ ἄρα, 'not after all,' 'not it appears.'

10. ὀρκιατόμαι = ὄρκια ἔτεμνε, (cf. *foedus icere*) 'made a solemn treaty with.' ζῶα γὰρ ἔτεμνον, τούτεστιν ἐθυσιαζόν, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄρκοις καὶ διαλλαγαῖς (*Koräes*).

11. - ἐντ] Doric form of εἰσι which is itself formed from ἐσ-ντι, Stud. Gr. Gr. § 315 obs. i p. 179.

12. κοῦκ ἐγὼ κτλ., *non ego solus, quod Persis faverem, in exilium pulsus sum, sed alios etiam propterea solum vertere coegerunt.* κόλουρις, fem. of κόλουρος, 'that has lost its tail,' or it may be only a common name for 'a fox.'

## CHAPTER XXII

§ 1. 15. προσιεμένων, 'allowing,' 'believing': cf. Herod. i 75 τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι, vi 123 οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολήν, Plato Phaed. c. 45 p. 97 B τοῦτον (τὸν τρόπον τῆς μεθόδου) οὐδαμῶς προσίεμαι.

16. λυπηρὸς, *molestus*, 'troublesome,' as eclipsing others and so an object of envy; cf. Thuc. vi 16, 5 (*loquitur Alcibiades*) οἶδα τοὺς τοιοῦτους καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τινος λαμπρότητι προέσχον ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηροὺς ὄντας τοῖς ὁμοίοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξύνοντας.

17. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'in the popular assembly.' μνημονεύων] G. § 277, 2.

18. τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας] 16. 1. τί κοπιᾶτε, 'why are you weary of being so often benefited by the same men?' G. § 279, 1.

19. ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν] G. § 197, 1.

21. εἰσάμενος, = *ιδρύσας*, 'setting up and dedicating a temple,' from the root *ἐδ-*, of which *ἴδω* is the present in use, see Veitch's *Greek Verbs* p. 259 s.v. *ἴω*. Thucyd. *θυσιὰς τὰς πατρῴους τῶν εἰσαμένων* (*ἐπὶ θεῶν*) καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε where Bekker and Krüger have *ἐσσαμένων* (the latter, however, approving *ἐσαμένων*, the reading of one good MS), Herod. i 66, 1 τῷ Δυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱερὸν εἰσάμενοι. 'Ἀριστοβούλῃ, 'best counsellor.' ὧς] 14, 2, G. § 277, 6 note 2.

23. πλῆσιν] this clause is loosely connected with the relative clause preceding.

24. Μελίτη, a township of the tribe Kecropis, west of the Inner Kerameicus. It contained several temples as well as houses of distinguished men. Dicty of Geogr. Vol. i p. 301 b. οὗ, *ubi*, 'where.' τῶν θανατουμένων, 'of ex-  
criminals.' On the public executioners (*δήμοι* = *δημό-*

σίοι) cf. Plat. de legg. ix c. 11, p. 872 B δ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμιος—θανατωσάτω.

25. προβάλλουσι, 'fling away.'

26. τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων, 'the halters of those who destroy themselves by hanging.' Thucyd. iv 48, 3 ἐκ κλινῶν τινῶν—τοῖς σπάρτοις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων παραρήματα ποιοῦντες ἀπαγχόμενοι.

Plato (de legg. ix c. 13, p. 873 C), proposes a special mark of infamy for those who commit suicide without any apparent ground; δς ἂν ἑαυτὸν κτείνῃ, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης ('natural death') βίαν ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, μήτε πόλεως ταξίας δίκην μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῃ προσπessούσῃ τύχῃ ἀναγκασθεὶς μηδὲ αἰσχύνῃς τινὲς μεταλαβῶν, ἀβίου ('making life untenable'), ἀργίῃ δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας δειλίᾳ ἑαυτῷ δίκην ἀδικῶν ἐπιθῇ—τάφους εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρείσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόνας μηδὲ μεθ' ἐνδὲ ξυντάφου, εἰτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὁρίοις μερῶν τῶν ὅσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνώνυμα θάπτειν ἀκλειεῖς αὐτοὺς μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους. Aeschines adv. Ktesiph. p. 636 says of such:—ἐὰν τις αὐτὸν διαχειρίσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν.

27. ἐκφέρουσιν] indefinite subject, see G. § 134, 3 note 1 (b).

§ 2. καθ' to be taken with εἰκόλιον, 'a small portrait-statue also.'

29. καθ' ἡμᾶς, nostra aetate, 'in our days.' So Public. c. 19 p. 107 D, Sol. cum Public. comp. 1 p. 109 E. So οἱ καθ' ἑαυτὸν are *aequales*, Nik. c. 3, Sertor. c. 10, Alkib. c. 1, 2. φαίνεται—γενόμενος, 'it is plain that he was,' not 'he seems to have been' (Stewart).

29 1. τις—ἥρωϊκός, 'an heroic sort of man': τις is frequently used in this restrictive sense by Plutarch with adjectives to increase or weaken their notion, denoting that a thing is particularly great or particularly small, e.g. Cat. c. 14 αἰετὶς ἦν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδής. Jelf Gr. Gr. § 659, 41. Cf. the use of *quidam*, Reid on Cic. de am. § 6 l. 1 p. 67. τὴν ψυχὴν] G. § 160, 1.

2. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμόν, 'the banishment by ostracism then as a special (μὲν) result (οὖν) of his general unpopularity.' 2, 4 l. 4.

3. ἐποιήσαντο, sc. his fellow-citizens, G. § 134, 3 note 1 (α). κολούοντες, 'because they would clip, by way of curtailing, his superior authority and preeminence.' G. § 277, 2.

4. ἐπὶ πάντων, 'in the case of all,' 8, 2.

5. βαρεῖς, 'oppressive.'

7. παραμύθια φθόνου κτλ., 'a mitigation and relief of envious feelings.'

8. τῷ ταπεινῶν] G. § 141 note 6.

10. ἐκπνέοντες, 'blowing off,' 'venting.'

## CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. Thucyd. i 135.

12. ἐν Ἀργα] Argos was not only unfriendly to Sparta but strongly believed to have been in collusion with Xerxes at the invasion of Greece. Nepos Them. c. 8 *Argos habitatum concessit, hic cum propter multas virtutes magnam cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset.* τὰ περὶ Πausanias συμπεσόντα, 'what had happened about Pausanias,' viz. the detection of his treason.

13. κατ' ἐκείνου πάρεσχε—ἀφορμὰς, 'gave his enemies a handle against him.' We have a similar instance of the use of ἐκείνου in the same sentence and referring to the same subject as αὐτοῦ in Romul. c. 29 *λερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρήνῳ προσαγορευμένῳ δι' ἐκείνου.* τοῖς ἐχθροῖς] sc. at Athens.

14. ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν, 'his prosecutor,' 'the man who preferred the indictment against him for treason.' G. § 173, 2. Γράφομαι is properly 'I get the public authorities to write some one's name for me,' hence 'I publicly accuse.'

15. Δωβώτης] elsewhere it is said to have been Alk-maeon himself, Arist. 25, 7.

16. Ἀγρυλῆθεν, of Agrule, a demos in the phyle Erechtheis. συνεπαιτιωμένων] Thuc. i 135 τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὔρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἤξιουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν.

§ 2. 18. πράττων κτλ., 'when he was carrying on those intrigues of his as is well known (δῆ), concealed them at first from Themistokles.' Ἀποκρύπτειν τι refertur ad res extra nos positas, occultare aliquid; ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τι contra ad id quod in nobis est, celare aliquid. Kühner ad Xen. Mem. iii 6, 8.

20. ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας, *electum e civitate*. Cobet says 'imo vero τῆς πόλεως. Tralaticius in libris error natus ex πῶ. Paulo ante emendate scribitur 23, 1 ἐκπεσόντος τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ. Cf. vit. Luculli c. 43 ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, et Sullae 10, 23 ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως.'

22. τῶν πραττομένων, 'of his intrigues.' Πράττειν is often used by Thucydides *de clandestinis consiliis*, as i 181 πρᾶσσων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, 132, 4 ἐπυνθάνοντο καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήκτας πρᾶσσειν τι αὐτόν (sc. Pausanias), ii 2, 3, 5, 7 πρὸς δὲ ἐπράξαν οἱ προδιδόντες. See below on l. 26. γρόμματα τοῦ β., 'the king's letter,' which is given in Thucyd. i 129.

23. ἐπιδεικνύμενος, not ἐπιδεικνυς, because addressed to himself.

24. ὡς πονηροῦς, sc. ὄντας. G. § 277 note 2.

25. ἀπετρίψατο, rejected, 'declined,' lit. 'rubbed off himself.'

Cf. Brut. c. 17 p. 991 B ἀποτριβομένου τὰς δόσεις, Lucull. c. 35, 2 p. 515 B οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο τὰς δεξιώσεις, Pomp. c. 44, p. 642 C ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, εἰ Πομπηίου Μάγρον ἀποτρίψεται κηδεστήν where Korāns and Schäfer wrongly read ἀποτρίψεται, Anton. c. 12 p. 921 C καὶ πάλιν ἐπῆγε (τῷ Καίσαρι διάδημα δάφνης) καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνος ἀπετρίβετο, Mar. c. 40, 3 p. 429 B τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἀνδρῶπον, ib. c. 34, 2 p. 425 A Μάριος φιλοτίμως πᾶν καὶ μεираκιωδῶς ἀποτρίβόμενος τὸ γῆρας, i.e. *disstimulare conatus senectutem* (Leopold), Polyb. v. 42, 8

τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διδόμενον ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον, **xxv. 1, 7** (**xxiii 17, 7**) ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτροπήν.

**26.** ἀπείπατο, *deprecatus est, denegavit, oblatam repudiavit*, 'refused.'

Herod. vi 100 οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, iv 120 τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ix 7, 4 οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, Aristot. de mirab. ausc. c. 84 p. 837 a τοὺς προσεστώτας τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπείπασθαι θανατῶ ζήμιον τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν νῆσον) πλευσομένους, Plut. Alcib. 4, 4 τὴν κλήσιν ἀπείπατο, Arat. 51, 1, Mar. c. 8, apophth. lacon. p. 230 A τοὺς μνηστεύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀπειπαμένους, de garul. c. 19, p. 511 F μέχρ' οὐ πάντες ἀπείπωνται τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ib. p. 512 B κἀν ἀπείπηται τὸν λόγον ὁ αἰτηθεὶς, de Socr. gen. c. 15 p. 585 C τύχης κλήρον ἀπείπαμένον, quæst. conv. i 2, c. 3, p. 616 C δυνεὶ φίλων ἀπειπαμένους βιάσταν, an seni sit. ger. resp. c. 17 p. 792 E οὐκ ἂν οἰμαί σε φυνγεῖν οὐδ' ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν, præc. ger. reip. c. 13, 25 p. 803 E τὴν χάριν ἀπειπάμενον, de Herod. malign. c. 38 p. 863 C οὐκ ἀπειπαμένους τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν συμμαχίαν, Polyb. hist. xxiii 9, 13 (p. 1100 Hultsch) ἔδοξε τὴν τῶν πλοίων δωρεὰν ἀπείπασθαι. But the middle is not admissible in correct Attic.

πρὸς οὐδὲνα τοὺς λόγους ἐξηγήκεν, 'revealed to no one his proposals.'

ἐκφέρειν = *indicare, efferre, arcana vulgare*, 'to publish,' 'divulge a secret'; cf. Herod. viii 132 ἐξευέλκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, iii 71 ἐξοίσει τις πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον, iii 74 μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ τὴν ἀπόσφωον ἀπάτην γεγонуῖαν, Plut. Sertor. c. 27 p. 582 E τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξενεχθέντων πρὸς τινάς, Perikl. 36, 2 ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἰκας διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ. Cf. Eur. Hippol. v. 295.

**28.** τὴν πρᾶξιν, either simply *rem gestam, factum*, 'the transaction,' or *proditionis consilium* 'his treachery,' in which sense it is frequently used by Polybius, as ii 7, 8 ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν πόλιν προδοῦναι· τῆς δὲ πράξεως ταύτης ἀποτυχόντες; 9, 2 ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ πρᾶξις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ib. iv 8, 4. Cf. note on l. 22 above. παύσεσθαι, so. τῆς πράξεως.

**29.** σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ, = *allogos*, 'irrationally.'

**30.** ὀρεγόμενον, 'aspiring to strange and hazardous projects.' This is not to be taken closely with *καταφανῇ γενήσεσθαι*, as if the meaning were 'that his visionary and impossible projects would be disclosed by other means' (Stewart).

30 § 3. 1. οὕτω δὴ goes with ἐπιστολαὶ κτλ., not with θανατωθέντος. 'So it was that,' 'thus it happened that.' ἐπιστολαί] it is not stated whose; still more indefinitely Thuc. ὡς εὑρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανσανίαν ἐλέγχων.

2. εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον, 'cast suspicion upon.'

4. κατηγόρουν, 'made a formal accusation.'

5. τῶν πολιτῶν] G. § 168. παρόντος] G. § 173, 2 note.

7. κατηγορίαις] usually περὶ with gen. or πρὸς with acc. is found after ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

διαβαλλόμενος γάρ, sc. ἔφη or ἔγραψεν implied in διὰ γραμμ. ἀπολ. 'he wrote namely, when he was charged by his enemies before his fellow-citizens, that he should never sell himself and Hellas to be a slave to barbarians or enemies, inasmuch as (G. § 277 note 2) he always sought to rule, and was not born to serve nor had any mind thereto.'

9. ἀρχεσθαι μὴ πεφυκώς] G. § 260, 1.

10. οὐκ ἂν ἀποδόσθαι = ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀπόδοιτο, G. § 211.

11. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, *veruntamen*, 'however,' lit. 'they did not, however, listen to his defence but' etc. 3, 2; 5, 4; 29, 1.

13. ἄνδρας = τινάς. οἷς εἶρητο, 'who had been ordered.' ἀνάγειν, *captivum ducere*, 'to bring him up as a prisoner.'

No notice is taken of this technical meaning of the word in the lexx., not even in Hase and Dindorf's ed. of Stephen's Thesaurus. Cf. Polyb. hist. II 8, 2 οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ζωγρίαι τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀνήγον, VIII 22, 7 πανταχόθεν κυκλωθεὶς ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ παραχρήμα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον; 26, 2 τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ἐπιλαβομένων αὐτῶν ἀνήγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίβαν, XX 11, 5, Xen. Hell. II 4, 8 Ἀνσίμαχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα (not 'a pari in urdem,' Breitenbach) παραδούναί αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς ξυνειλημμένους) τοῖς ἑνδεκα, ib. III 3, 11 ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἡλέγχετο, Plut. Lucull. c. 12 p. 499 c ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερτωρίου στρατηγός, p. 500 F Πομπήνιος... ἐάλω τετρωμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μισθριδάτην ἀνήχθη, Lucull. c. 28 p. 511 A ἀλοὺς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Δούκουλλον, Sertor. c. 27 p. 582 E οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Πομπήϊον ἀναχθέντες διαφθάρησαν, Pomp. c. 36 p. 638 c, Alex. c. 12 p. 671 A ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν δεδεμένη, Tib.



νεαρὸν φυλαττούσης, Eumen. c. 6 p. 536 B μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην, Otho c. 8 p. 1070 B προσφάτον τῆς νίκης, Diod. Sic. III c. 46 πόα τις ἄλλη... ἢ πρόσφατος μὲν οὖσα τοῖς ὁμμασι προσηγεσάτην παρέχει τέρψιν, ἐγχρονισθεῖσα δὲ συντόμως γίνεται ἐξίτηλος, Menander Trophon. 11. 4 πρόσφατοις ἰχθυοῖς, Antiphanes Φιλοθήβαιος fr. 11 (Meineke III p. 128) πρόσφατους ἰχθῆς. Aristotle applies the epithet to rain, water, oil, and generally in opp. to παλαιοσ, as in Rhetoric I, 15 p. 137 5<sup>b</sup>, 27 μάρτυρες διττοί, οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι.

**31** 1. βασιλικῆς, in chiasmic opp. to συγγενῇ. Cf. Hom. II. I 80:

κρείσσω γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρην·  
εἴπερ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κόνον, ὅφρα τελέσῃ.

φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν, 'he took and put himself at his mercy.'

The participle φέρων marks a degree of determination (*sua sponte, ultro, data opera cum studio*), or urgency (*cito, propere, derepente*) emphasizing the action of the principal verbs with which it is used, 'acting on the impulse of the moment,' 'with determination': Herod. VIII 87 (of Artemisia) φέρονσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ, Pomp. c. 27 p. 633 B (de piratis) Πομπηίῃ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐνεχείριζον, Fab. Max. c. 6 p. 177 C ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς πόλιν Κασίλινον, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 175 p. 25 ἀπαγωγῶν αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς κρίτας) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Τίμαρχον αἰτιῶν ἐπέστησα φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν κατήγορον, c. Ktesiph. § 82 p. 65, 24 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε etc., ib. § 90 p. 68, 26 ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις, § 143 p. 74, 6 τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (ἡγεμονίαν) ἀρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, § 146 p. 74, 23 προσέμιξε φέρων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκεύῃ τῇ πόλει, Plut. de educ. puer. 7 p. 4 B ὅτι δ' ἂν εὖρωσιν ἀνδράποδον οἰνόληπτον καὶ λίχρον, τοῦτ' φέροντες ὑποβάλλουσι τοὺς νιούς, Hemsterhuis ad Lucian dialog. I p. 349 points out another usage, where it is added to verbs 'ut insinuandi sese applicandique ad aliquem et commendandi speciem praeferat,' Perikl. c. 7 οὕτω δὲ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν, Max. Tyr. diss. XXXI p. 315 καὶ τίνοι φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέφομεν; 'frequenter autem ad eos pertinet, qui in doctorum se fidem ac disciplinam tradunt, e.g. Eunap. de Porphyrio p. 14 προσέθετο φέρων ἑαυτὸν Plotino; p. 49 Aedesius ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων τῇ χείρῳ τῶν δούλων.'

**2.** Ὡδὸν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον, 'in a peculiar and strange sort of manner.' G. § 160.

On Ὡδὸν see 18, 4.

παρηλλαγμένος is properly 'changed,' 'altered,' as in Polyb. hist. VII 17, 7 παρηλλαγμένον τῆς συνθηθείας, hence 'extraordinary,' ib. ἡ

55, 1 τὸ συμβαῖνον ἰδίον ἦν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, IV 33, 12 τῶν ἐχόντων παρηλλαγμένον τι καὶ διαφέρων τόπων, II 29, 1 ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην ἐπιφάνειαν, VIII 32, 5 πλήρης ἡ πόλις κραυγῆς ἐγένετο καὶ ταραχῆς παρηλλαγμένης, I 79, 4 παρηλλαγμένας ἐπισκοῦντες τιμωρίας, Diod. Sic. III c. 46 παρηλλαγμένον ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων μίγμα, III c. 8 παρηλλαγμένοις ἔδρασι χρώνται, XVII c. 90 παρηλλαγμένους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ὄφεις.

3. τὸν υἱὸν] *filiam parvulam*, Nepos.

4. μέγιστην ἱκεσίαν, 'the most solemn form of supplication,' predicate to ταύτην: Thuc. I. c. μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο.

5. ἀναντίρρητον, 'not to be refused,' Polyb. hist. xxviii 11, 4 πᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραγγελθὲν ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν.

§ 3. 6. ἐνιοι] as Thucydides.

7. ὑποθέσθαι τὸ ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο, 'suggested this posture.' Cf. Herod. I 90 ὑπερήδετο ὡς ἐδόκεε εἰς ὑποτίθεσθαι, 156, vi 134, v 92, 98, vii 237, viii 97, Aristoph. Ekkl. 1154 σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς κριταῖσι βούλομαι.

10. ὥς ἀφοσιώσαιο, 'in order that he might plead religious scruples for declining to give him up.'

11. οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι] transition to direct discourse: otherwise we should have had οὐκ ἐκδιδόη.

12. διαθεῖναι, 'arranged' the scene. συντραφεῖσθαι = συμμηχανήσασθαι, συνυποκρίνασθαι, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὑποκρινομένων τραγῳδῶν (*Koraïs*) 'played a leading part together with him in this solemn pathetic scene.'

13. ἐκεῖ, sc. ὅντι. 'while he was there,' or perhaps for ἐκείσε = εἰς, 'thither,' as in Herod. vii 147 ἐκεῖ πλέομεν, Soph. O. C. 1019 ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ, Thuc. iii 71 τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας.

14. Ἀχαρνέας, 'of the deme Acharnae' which was the largest in Attica, in the phyle Οἰνηΐς, situated not far from

the foot of Mt Parnes : the inhabitants of this deme gave their name to one of Aristophanes' most famous plays 'The Acharnians.'

15. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'for this,' 'because of this,' 2, 6; 7, 3.

κρίνας, 'bringing him to trial,' 'accusing.' C. Caes. c. 4 p. 708 ἡ Δολύβειλλον ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, vit. dec. or. iii p. 19 προδοσίας κρίνοντι Τιμόθεον, Dem. de f. l. p. 413, 25 τοῦτον οὐκ ἔκρινεν (ἐταιρήσεως) Διοχάρη, Lykurg. c. Leokr. § 113 τὸν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας. ἰθανάτωσι] 6, 2; 22, 1.

16. Σηψ(μβροτος] 2, 3; 4, 4. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, nescio quomodo (n. to Cic. de off. 1 § 146 l. 5), 'singularly enough.'

18. ποιῶν, 'representing.'

19. Ἰέρωνος] Hiero, despot of Syracuse from B.C. 476 to B.C. 467 in succession to his brother Gelo, was a liberal patron of men of letters, and his court was the resort of the most famous poets and philosophers of his day, as Aeschylus, Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar, by whom his victories at Olympia and Delphi have been immortalised. He obtained a great victory over the Etruscan fleet near Cumae in B.C. 474.

21. ἐπηκόους] G. § 166 note. ἀποτραφεμένου] 23, 2.

22. οὕτως, 'under these circumstances,' 25, 2.

## CHAPTER XXV.

§ 1. 24. ἐν τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας, 'in his treatise (writings) on monarchy.'

26. ἵππους ἀγωνιστάς, 'racehorses.'

27. σκηπτήν] 5, 2.

28. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι] 23, 3 l. 14.

29. τοῦ τυράννου contains the reason of his advice.

30. Θουκυδίδης] i 137: καὶ introduces a third argument.

1. ἐτέραν] )( the Ionic, the sea on the other side of 32  
Greece, viz. the Aegean, Thuc. l. c. § 1.

2. ἀπὸ Πύδνης] to be taken with πλεῦσαι. Pydna was  
on the coast of Pieria in the Thermaic gulf. ὅστις εἴη]  
G. § 243. τῶν πλεόντων] to be taken with οὐδενός,  
G. § 168.

4. Νάξον—πολιορκουμένην] Naxos, the largest island  
of the Kyklades, lies about half-way between Greece and Asia  
Minor. It was conquered in B.C. 490 by the Persians, but  
recovered its independence after the battle of Salamis, when it  
became a member of the confederacy of Delos: but in B.C. 471  
it revolted and was subdued by the Athenians (πρώτη αὐτῇ  
πόλις ξυμμαχίᾳ παρὰ τῷ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη Thuc. i 98).

5. ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν, 'revealed himself.' τῷ ναυκλήρῳ,  
'the owner of the vessel,' the shipmaster who generally acted  
as skipper.

§ 2. α. τὰ μὲν—τὰ δέ, 'partly—partly.' G. § 143 n. 1.

7. κατηγορήσοι] G. § 243. In direct discourse it would  
be κατηγορήσει.

9. χρήμασι πεισθέντες] from Thucyd. l. c. εἰ μὴ σώσει  
αὐτὸν, ἔφη ἔρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει.

10. ἀναλάβοιεν, 'had received, entertained him from the  
first,' not 'were carrying him out of the country' (Stewart).

οὕτως] 24, 3. ἀναγκάσει is coupled to ἀναδείξειεν.  
παραπλεῖσαι, *praetervehi* 'to sail past,' 'to hold on their  
course,' Perikl. c. 19 p. 163 D παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχελῶον,  
Lys. c. 13 p. 440 D παρέπλει σχολαίως, Pomp. c. 74 p. 658 D  
παραπλεύσας ἐφ' Ἀμφιπόλεως, Cic. c. 47 p. 885 A πλοῖον  
εὐρὼν ἐνέβη καὶ παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκάου, Plato Phaedr. c.  
41 p. 259 A παραπλέοντας σφᾶς ὥσπερ Σειρήνας ἀκηλήτους,  
Philostr. p. 717 τὴν νῆσον τὴν Ὀγυγίαν παραπλεῖν κελεύει καὶ  
μὴ προσορμίζεσθαι τοῖς μύθοις. In c. 9, 1 it has its ordinary  
signification of 'sailing along,' 'coasting.'

11. λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, 'to lay hold of,' i.e. 'reach, gain the shore of Asia,' G. § 171, 1. A meaning ignored in LS. Cf. Cic. c. 31 p. 876 *τὴν διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο λαβέσθαι Σικανίας βουλόμενος*, Thucyd. viii 80, 2 αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος—...*χέιμασθεῖσαι καὶ αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι*, iii 24, 2 λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρέων διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, 106, 2 λαβόμενοι τοῦ θυάμου δρους ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ. The compound ἀντιλαβέσθαι is also used in the same sense as iii 22, 8 πρὶν διαφύγειν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο, cf. iv 128 ἀντελάβετο τῶν μετεώρων, vii 60, 2; 77, 6.

12. ὑπεκκλαπέντα, *clam et furtim subrepta*, 'stealthily and secretly conveyed away.' Thuc. i 137, 3 ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργούς αὐτὴν ἐκείτο.

13. ἔπλει] used of things, as in Thuc. iii 114, 1 τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (σκύλα) πλέοντα (in navigatione) ἐάλω. So ἐκπλεῖν and ἐσπλεῖν are used of imports and exports, e.g. in Thuc. ii 93, 4, iii 51, 2, iv 27, 1, viii 90, 6, Dem. adv. Lept. § 81 p. 466. τῶν φανερῶν γενομένων, 'of that which was brought to light.' Φανερά οὐσία is often used of 'real property' )(ἀφανής, 'personal': v. LS. s. v.

14. τὸ δημόσιον, 'the public treasury.' συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, 'confiscated.' Θεόπομπος] probably from his treatise περὶ δημαγωγῶν.

15. ἑκατὸν τάλαντα = about £24,375, the talent of money being worth about £243 15s. Cf. Aelian var. hist. x 17 λέγει Κριτίας Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους, πρὶν ἢ ἀρξασθαι πολιτεύεσθαι, τριὰ τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρῴαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν πρόεστη, εἴτα ἐφύγε καὶ ἐδημιεύθη αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, κατεφωρόθη ἑκατὸν ταλάντων πλείω οὐσίαν ἔχων. Θεόφραστος] Theophrastus, the celebrated philosopher, born at Eresus in Lesbos, succeeded Aristotle as president of the Lykeum at Athens. His chief works are the 'Characters' and the 'History of Plants.'

16. τὸ πλῆθος, 'in their amount,' G. § 160, 1; Thuc. i 9 πλῆθει χρημάτων, iii 70, 4 διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, Plato de

Rep. viii p. 551 B ταξάμενοι πλῆθος χρημάτων, p. 591 E διὰ πλῆθος οὐσίας ἢ δι' ὀλιγότητα. οὐδὲ τριῶν, 'not so much as three.' Such is the statement of Critias also ap. Aelian l. c. In the comparison between Aristides and Cato Plutarch states it as 3 or 5 (πέντε γὰρ ἢ τριῶν ταλάντων οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤπτετο τῆς πολιτείας). 'The poverty of Aristides,' says Grote, 'at the end of his life presents an impressive contrast to the enrichment of his rival.' And so does that of Perikles, see Plut. Per. 15, 4.

17. ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας] 3, 1.

## CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. 19. κατέπλευσεν, *appulit*, 'landed.' Κύμην] according to Strabo xiii 3, 6, p. 622, Kyme, called also Phrikonis because founded by a colony of Phokians from Mt Phrikus, was the largest and noblest of the cities in Aeolis (μεγίστη τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἀρίστη Κύμη καὶ σχεδὸν μητρόπολις αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Δέσβος τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων περὶ τριάκοντά του τὸν ἀριθμόν): it stood on a bay named after it (*Cumaeus* also *Elaiticus sinus*), opposite the southern coast of Lesbos. It was the birthplace of Ephorus the historian and of Hesiod's father, and the mother city of Cumae in Campania. It has some historical associations with the Ionian revolt, when it joined Aristagoras, but was soon recovered by the Persians, Herod. v 38, 123. The remnant of Xerxes' fleet which escaped from Salamis wintered there, viii 130. Thucydides l. c. says that he landed at Ephesus, which was much nearer to Naxos.

20. τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, 'of the inhabitants of the coast.' παραφυλάττοντας, *observantes ut insidiatores, eius opprimendi occasionem captantes*, 'watching for him, lying in wait, on the look out for him,' G. § 279, 2. Fab. Max. c. 8, 2 καὶ ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀντίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἀφεικότα, Eumen. c. 13, 6 αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Εὐμένης αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς (which passage is

a sufficient answer to Cobet's objection to λαβεῖν), Xen. de Rep. Lak. iv 4 παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐάν τι παρὰ τὰ κακὰ βαδουρῶσι, Polyb. hist. i 36, 9 παρεφύλαττον τὸν ἐπίπλουον τῶν ὑπεναντίων, vii 3, 9 παρεφύλαττον ὡς πολέμιον, Timoleon c. 19, 2 p. 245 ε δεδωτες τὰς τριῆρεις αἱ παρεφύλαττον αὐτούς. The middle is also sometimes found in this sense as in Timol. c. 7, 4 and freq. in Polybius.

**21.** λαβεῖν] G. § 265. Cobet considers the word a gloss, but see n. 1. 20. τοὺς περὶ Ἐργοτελῆ, i. q. Ἐργοτελῆ, see n. to 7, 3. Cf. Artox. c. 13 οἱ περὶ Δεῖνων καὶ Ξενοφῶντα λέγουσι.

**23.** τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι, 'to those who are contented with making gain by any means,' whether honourable or dishonourable. Cf. Soph. Antig. 312 οὐκ ἐξ ἀπαντος δεῖ τὸ κερδαίνειν φιλεῖν. The accusative of the thing after ἀγαπᾶν is much less common than the dative: cf. Demosth. Philipp. ii § 12 p. 70 τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσαντας, Isocr. Panegy. § 140 p. 69 δ ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλ' ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ζητεῖν ἐπάρχειν, Plat. Euthydem. § 81 p. 306 c πάντα γὰρ ἄνδρα χορῇ ἀγαπᾶν, i. e. nam unoquoque viro contentum esse oportet, de rep. iii c. 10 p. 399 ε τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀγαπῶντα, i. e. in iis, quae eveniunt, acquiescentem. In Thuc. vi 18 some mss have ὑπερδόντες καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπήσαντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡσυχίαν, but in the best mss and Edd. the words καὶ οὐκ ἀγ. are omitted.

**24.** ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ, 'having been offered for his head,' 29, 1 l. 25. Ἐπικηρύττειν τι or ἐπὶ τι is caput alicuius proposita pecunia proscribere, pecuniam publice per praeconem praemii loco illis constituere qui proscripsum obtruncant. Cf. Herod. vii 213 καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγῶρων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη, 214 οἱ Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν ἀργύριον ἐπὶ Ἐπιδάτῃ τῷ Τρηχυνίῳ, Dem. de fals. l. § 21 p. 347 διὰ ταῦτα χρήμαθ' ἔαυτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, Diod. Sic. xiii c. 6 τῷ ἀνελόντι Διαγόραν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, ib. xiv 8, Appian bell. civ. v 113 χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπεκεκηρύχεσαν. More fully in Lys. c. Andoc. § 18 p. 104 ἐπικηρύττοντες τάλαντον ἀργυρίου τῷ ἀπὸ

γοντι. The words *ἐπαπειεῖν* (Thuc. vi 60) and *ἐπαγαγορέειν* (Arist. Av. 1072) are used in a similar sense.

**26.** *Αἰγῆς*] There were three towns named Aegae in Europe, viz. in Achaia, Emathia and Euboea, and two in Asia, one on the coast of Cilicia and the other in Aeolis near Kyme, Herod. i 149, Xenoph. Hell. iv 8, 5.

**27.** *ξένου*, 'guest-friend.' According to Diod. Sic. xi 56 whose account otherwise tallies with that of Plutarch, his name was Lysitheides: *ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὦν Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἅπασαν εἰσιστακῶς· διόπερ συνήθειαν μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν ἑλεον σῶσαι βουλόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράξαι.* *Αἰολέων*] G. § 168.

**28.** *τοῖς ἄνω*, 'those up country,' 'of the interior.'

**29.** *ὑπήρχε*] 1, 1. *παρὰ τοῦτω*] 5, 2.

**30.** *ἐκ θυσίας*, 'after and in consequence of a sacrifice,' which was accompanied by a feast.

**2.** *παιδαγωγός*] 12, 2. *ἐκφρων*] said of religious and 33 prophetic frenzy, Plato Ion p. 534 *β ἐνθεός τε...καὶ ἐκφρων.* *θεοφόρητος*, 'inspired,' 'possessed,' 'god-rapt.' Aesch. Agam. 1067 *φρενομανής τις εἴ θεοφόρητος*, Plut. de ad. et am. c. 10 p. 54 *σ ἂν ἐκεῖνος (ῆ) δεισιδαίμων, (φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι) θεοφόρητον*, Sull. c. 27 p. 469 *β φησὶν οἰκέτην Ποντίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λόγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν.*

**3.** *ἀνεφώνησεν*, 'lift up his voice and cried.'

**4.** *νυκτὶ κτλ.*] the verse is a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The sentiment often recurs, e.g. in Menander *ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται*. So here: 'commit everything to night, voice, counsel, victory,' i.e. believe everything night tells thee, it speaks (by dreams), gives thee counsel and victory. Cf. the story told about Peisistratos by Herodotus i 62.

§ 2. **5.** *ὄναρ*, 'in a dream,' (*ὕπαρ*, G. § 160, 2. Cf. Pomp. 73, 6 *ἐπιστάς οὖν Περίκλος εὐθὺς ἔγνω τὸν Πομπήϊον οἶον*



ὄναρ εἶδε, Philop. c. 18 οὐδ' ὄναρ ἄν ποτε παθεῖν...ταῦτα προσδοκήσαντος.

6. ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, *sibi visus est videre*, 'fancied that he saw.'

Cf. Pyrrh. 11, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι, Arist. 11, 6 Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, where we have an instance of the accusative with the infinitive though the subject of the whole clause is one and the same. The Rule is that (1) where the subject of δοκεῖν and its dependent clause is not the same, either δοκεῖ, ἔδοξε, etc. are joined with the nominative of the vision they dreamt and the dative of the dreamer, or (2) the nominative of the dreamer followed by the accusative with the infinitive. Thus (1) Xen. Anab. III 4, 11 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν (and then with a change of construction to) (2) καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν, Herod. III 30, 4 ἔδοξε οἱ ἄγγελον...ἀγγέλλειν, (2) Demetr. 29, 1 Δημήτριος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὠπλισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν, Pomp. 68, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πομπηΐος εἰς τὸ θεατρὸν εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον, Sull. 9, 2, Pyrrh. 29, 1, Cleom. 7, 3, Arist. 19, 1, Demetr. 19, 2, Cic. 44, 2.

κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς περιελιττόμενον, 'coiling itself down upon his belly.' Cf. 9, 1 κατὰ τῶν λιβῶν.

7. προσανέρποντα, 'creeping up towards.'

8. ὡς ἤψατο κτλ., 'as soon as it had reached his face, it became an eagle and spreading its wings about him (not 'flapped its wings' Stewart, cf. Hom. II. xi 454 οἶωνοι...περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες) lifted him from off the earth and carried him a long way.' The metamorphosis of the serpent into an eagle foreboded a sudden change in the critical position of Themistokles. The eagle was the field-badge of the king (Xen. Cyr. vii 1, 4, Anab. i 10, 12), the herald's wand represented peace and security.

10. πολλῶν ὀδόν] G. § 161. κηρυκείου, *caducei*, 'a herald's wand' with two serpents wound about it. Schol. in Thucyd. i 53 ἐστὶ ξύλον ὀρθὸν ἔχον ἐκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιεπλεγμένους καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

11. στήσαι, 'set him.'

13. δ' οὖν, resumptive, *ut ut haec sunt*, 'be that as it may,' 'anyhow,' 'however,' 'whether that story be true or

not,' 27, 1, Arat. 27, 1; 30, 1, Sol. 2, 1; 16, 3, Cic. 35, 5, Pyrrh. 13, 1, Poplic. 7, 1, Perikl. 27, 1; 35, 4. Cf. Stallbaum on Plato de rep. i c. 5 p. 330 E, iv. c. 14 p. 440 A, v c. 18 p. 473 c.

14. βαρβαρικοῦ, i.e. non-Hellenic, G. § 168.

15. τὸ Περσικόν, so. γένος. εἰς, 'in respect of,' 2, 2.

16. ἄγριον καὶ χαλεπὸν, 'harsh and cruel.' Cf. Hom. Odys. i 198 χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν, ἄγριοι, viii 575 ἡμὲν ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, οἳ τε φιλόξενοι.

§ 3. 17. ἀργυρωνήτους, *mancipia argento parata* (Liv. xli 6), 'bond-women,' lit. 'those bought with money.' Greek slaves were either δοριάλωτοι (*captivi*) or ὠνητοὶ or οἰκότετριβες (*vernae*). The second class increased in proportion as the first became rare: they would naturally be treated with less consideration than those born in the house. Cf. Isokr. Platae. § 18 p. 300 B οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων δουλεύουσι, Panegyri. § 123 p. 66 C τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, Eur. Alk. 676 Ἀνδρὸν ἢ Φρύγα...ἀργυρώνητον σέθεν, Herod. iv 72 ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσι θεράποντες, Demosth. (?) πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθ. § 3 p. 212 D δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, Diod. Sic. i c. 70 περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐτ' ἀργυρώνητος οὐτ' οἰκογενὴς (*verna*) δοῦλος.

18. παλλακευομένας, 'concubines.' ἰσχυρῶς, *diligenter, vehementer*, 'carefully,' 'exceedingly.' Xen. Anab. vi 3, 11 τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, Cyr. i 4, 14 λυπούμενον ἰσχυρῶς, vii 4, 15 ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελοῦσι, Hell. v 1, 29 ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. It is also joined with adjectives, see n. on Cic. de off. § 65 l. 29, and even with substantives e.g. Xen. Apol. Socr. § 28 ἐπιθυμητῆς ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ. παραφυλάττουσιν, 'keep a close watch over,' 26, 1.

19. ὥς] 5, 4. τῶν ἐκτός, *extraneorum*, 'strangers' )( members of the family. Plato de legg. i p. 629 D ὧς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλους χρώμεθα διαφερόμενοι, Plutarch coniug. praec. 31 p. 142 D τὴν φωνὴν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, de gen. Socr. 24 p. 593 C, Fab. Max. c. 1,

p. 174 c τὸ εὐκολον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις νωθρότητος ὑπόνοιαν ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς ἑκτός, Dion c. 19 p. 965 x διαφορὰ λανθάνουσαι τοὺς ἑκτός, and frequently in Polybius.

**20.** δαιτᾶσθαι, *habitare, vivere*, 'live,' Thuc. ii 14, 1 ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δαιτᾶσθαι, 52, 1 ἐν καλύβαις πνιγῆραῖς δαιτιώμενων, vii 87, 2 οὕτω διηττήθησαν ἀθρόοι.

**21.** σκηναῖς, 'tented covers,' 'tilts' or 'awnings.' Xen. Cyr. vi 4, 11 ἀπήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίμαντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ which Julius Pollux 10, 52 explains as τὸ ἐστεγασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀμάξης. Xerxes, we are told by Herod. vii 41, used on his expedition besides his war-chariot (ἄρμα) also an ἀρμάμαξα. His words are μετεβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος εἰς ἀρμάμαξαν. The use of these comfortable caravans (*arabas*) is ridiculed by Aristophanes Ach. 69 where the ambassadors from Persia talk of travelling ἐσκηνημένοι, ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι; Aeschylus Pers. 100 calls them σκηναὶ τροχήλατοι. Rich *Comp. to Lat. Dict.* etc. says that no authentic representation of one remains. κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμέναις, 'with curtains drawn all round them.' Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 56 ἀπήνην πολυτέλεσι παραπετάσμασι κεκοσμημένην.

**23.** καταδύς, 'lying hid,' 'buried,' Cf. Plato de rep. ix c. 5 p. 579 b of a despot καταδεδικώς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῇ, Sophist. p. 239 c εἰς ἄπορον τόπον καταδέδουκεν, Polyb. hist. xv 30, 3 οἱ δὲ κατεδύοντο διαδιδράσκοντες εἰς ἀνυποπόητους οἰκίας καὶ τόπους, Diphilus ap. Athenae. ii p. 67 d διεπνείδὲ καταδύς which Casaubon interprets in *gurgustio lo suo abditus*.

**24.** ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, 'from time to time to those who met them and asked questions.'

**25.** γύναιον, *mulierculam*, 'a poor woman,' though not a diminutive but adjectival form, used in a contemptuous sense: Pyrrh. c. 2, 1 ἔφευγον οἰκέτας ὀλίγους καὶ γυναῖα τιθηνούμενα τὸ παῖδον ἐφελκόμενοι, ib. 13, 3 τὸ γύναιον (sc. τὴν αὐλητρίδα) αἰλεῖν κἀκείνον ᾄδειν ἐκέλευον, Demosth. c. Aristog. i § 57

p. 787, 25 *γυναίου πρῶγμ' ἐπολεῖ*, Andok. de myst. § 130  
p. 17 *παρὰ τοῖς παιδαρίοις καὶ τοῖς γυναίοις κλήδων ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ  
πόλει κάτεσχευεν*.

26. *Ἰωνίας*] To a Persian that would mean the whole  
west coast of Greece. *πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις β.*, 'to  
one of the royal courtiers.' From the Eastern custom of  
receiving petitions at the gate, *αἱ βασιλέως θύραι* became an  
ordinary phrase = 'the Sublime Porte.' Cf. Theopompus  
Philipp. xviii fr. 135 (Müller fragm. hist. p. 801): *Νικόστρατος  
ὁπότε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρτίθει χωρὶς ὀνομάζων τῷ  
δαίμονι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ...  
ἀκούων τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας δια-  
τρίβοντας*, Xen. Anab. i 9, 3 *πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν  
παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ('at court') παιδεύονται*,  
ii 1, 8 *λόγτας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας*, Herod. iii 119, Xen.  
Hell. i 6, 7 *ἀχθεσθεὶς ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν*.

## CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. 28. *Θουκυδίδης*] i 137 *ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς  
'Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα*, i.e. Artaxerxes  
I, surnamed *μακρόχειρ*, *longimanus*, the Ahasuerus of Scripture,  
who was king from B.C. 465 to B.C. 425.

*Χάρων*] Charon, a native of Lampsakus, a Milesian colony, in  
Mysia, on the coast of the Hellespont (29, 4 l. 8), was one  
of the early Greek chroniclers, born about B.C. 502. He con-  
tinued the researches of Hecataeus into eastern ethnography  
and wrote (as was the custom of these old historians) separate  
works upon different countries as Persia (*Περσικὰ*), Libya  
(*Λιβυτικὰ* or *Λιβυκὰ*), and one in four books called *ᾠροὶ Λακε-  
δαιμονίων* 'annals of Sparta,' and another entitled *ᾠροὶ Λαμψα-  
κηνῶν* or 'annals of Lampsakus.' See C. Müller *fr. histor.  
gr. praef.* p. xvi—p. xx.

29. *Ἰστοροῦσι*] i, § 1. 4 note. *πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν—ἐντευξιν*,  
'that it was his son between whom and Themistokles the  
interview took place.'

- 34 1. "Εφωρος] Ephorus was born at Kyme (26, 1, Strabo lib. xiii c. 3 § 6) between B.C. 388 and B.C. 378.

Ephorus and Theopompus were pupils of Isokrates in the school he had at that time opened at Chios (Plut. Mor. p. 837 B). Their tempers were so diverse (Ephorus being τὸ ἥθος ἀπλούς τὴν δὲ ἐρμηνείαν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπτιος καὶ νωθὸς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐπίτασιν, Theopompus on the other hand τὸ ἥθος πικρὸς καὶ κακοήθης, τῇ δὲ φράσει πολλὸς καὶ συνεχρῆς καὶ φορᾶς μεστός, φιλαλήθης δ' ἐν οἷς ἔγραψεν) that their master said one required a curb, the other a whip (τὸν μὲν ἔφη χαλίνου δεῖσθαι τὸν δὲ "Εφωρον κέντρον Suidas, *dicebat Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere* Cic. de orat. III § 36).

His most celebrated work was a general history of Greece in 30 books from the return of the Herakleidae to the siege of Perinthus in B.C. 340 (Diodor. Sic. iv 1, xvi 26), each book forming a complete whole by itself, the last being completed by his son Demophilus (Diod. xvi 14). Polybius, who frequently refers to him, speaks of him as the first who attempted an universal history τὸν πρώτων καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν (v 33, 2), and reckons him among οἱ λογιστάτοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων (vi 45, 1). It seems from his account of it to have been full of curious and antiquarian research (ix 1, 4). The same author (xii 28 f.) criticizes him for his ignorance of the mode of warfare by land, while he admits his knowledge of maritime warfare. He expresses his admiration of him in the following terms: ὁ γὰρ "Εφωρος παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν θαυμάσιος ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν ('treatment of his subject') καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν λημμάτων δεινότητός ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς παρεκβάσει καὶ ταῖς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ γνωμολογίαις καὶ συλλήβδην ὅταν πού τινι ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον ('his concluding observations') διατιθέται. Although an honest and painstaking writer, he cannot be regarded as a trustworthy and safe guide in the study of history, since even in the later periods, where he had such guides as Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, he differs from them in points on which they were entitled to credit. His style, as might have been expected from his rhetorical training, was clear and lucid but highly coloured and artificial, and at the same time diffuse and wanting in energy. Donaldson *Hist. Lit. Greece* Vol. II. p. 374 ff., Mahaffy *Hist. class. Grk. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 433 f., C. Muller *frag. hist. gr.* pp. lvii-lxv, and pp. 234-277, A. Bauer *Themistokles* pp. 83-123.

2. Δείνων] Deinon, father of Kleitarchus, the historian of Alexander's ἀνάβασις, wrote a history of Persia, which Nepos (Conon c. 5) refers to as the most trustworthy authority on the subject. He is quoted by Plutarch elsewhere, as in Artox. cc. 6, 9, 10, 13, 22, Alex. c. 36. Κλείταρχος] son of the former (Plin. H. N. x 49) accompanied Alexander the

Great in his expedition to the East and wrote a history of it, which appears to have been of little value (Cic. de leg. I 2, 7).

Ἡρακλείδης] There are four historians named Herakleides, one of Kyme, the author of a history of Persia (Περσικά) in five books; another, a native of Egypt who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, author of a great work entitled ἱστορίαι, and of a book called Δεμβεντικός λόγος from which he was nicknamed ὁ Δέμβος, a third of Odessus in Thrace, a fourth of Magnesia, author of Μισριδικά.

ἐτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, 'several others also beside them.'

4. τοῖς χρονικοῖς—συμφέρεσθαι, 'to agree with the dates, although these have not either been thoroughly settled beyond dispute.'

5. ἄτρεμα, *firmiter, vere, immote, indubitanter, exclusa omni trepidatione*, 'immoveably': in 29, 1 it means 'softly.' δ' οὖν] 26, 2 l. 13.

7. γινόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινόν, 'when he was to come to the actual danger,' 'in the critical moment of his affairs.' Cf. Soph. Oed. R. 1169 πρὸς αὐτῷ γ' εἰμι τῷ δεινῷ λέγειν. On the use of παρὰ cf. Dem. c. Mid. § 59 b παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δίκηματα ὀργίλως ἔχοντες ἐφάβεσθε, the phrase παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους in *ipsis periculis* 8, 1 l. 24, and παραχρῆμα for παρὰ τὸ χρῆμα.

8. ἐντυγχάνει, *convenit*, 'applies to,' 'interviews.' Aelian var. hist. I. 21 ἐβούλετο αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἦκεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ.

9. τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, 'the visir,' the chief officer of the Persian and later of the Macedonian court, (Diod. Sic. XVIII c. 48), whose office it was τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοὺς δεομένους εἰσάγειν, hence called εἰσαγωγεύς. Nepos has the same story about Konon (c. 3) evidently borrowed from this:—*Conon primum more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle: nemo enim sine hoc admittitur.*

'According to Thukydides the exile does not seem to have been exposed to the least danger in Persia. He presented himself as a deserter from Greece, and was accepted as such: moreover—what is more

strange, though it seems true—he was received as an actual benefactor of the king, and a sufferer from the Greeks on account of such dispositions—in consequence of his communications made to Xerxes respecting the intended retreat of the Greeks from Salamis and the contemplated destruction of the Hellespontine bridge. He was conducted to Susa, where he addressed a letter to the king couched in the following terms, such as probably no European king would tolerate except from a quaker: ‘I, Themistoklēs, am come to thee having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father—but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered. Reward is yet owing to me for my past service: moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person to explain my views (βούλομαι δ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκαμ δηλώσαι (I 137, 4).’ GROTE, *hist. of Greece*, vol. v.

11. πρὸς ᾧ—σπουδάζων, ‘in which he (the king) is especially interested.’ Dem. c. Androt. § 76 p. 617, 10 πρὸς χρημάτων κτήσιν οὐδὲ πώποτε ὁ δῆμος ἐσπούδασεν, c. Aristocr. § 12 p. 624, 16 ἐσπουδακότες πρὸς ὑμᾶς (*qui vobis studuerunt*). Generally used with περὶ τι or τῶτος, or with εἰς τι, or ἐπὶ τῷ, or else with the simple dative.

§ 2. 12. διαφέρουσιν=οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν ‘are not the same,’ hence ἄλλα δέ. See n. to 11, 2.

13. ἄλλα δ’ ἄλλοις κτλ., ‘but some hold one thing honourable, others another (each community has its own standard of propriety): yet it is proper for all to honour and uphold the customs of their country.’

14. κοσμεῖν, *colere*.

15. λόγος, sc. ἐστὶ, ‘there is a report.’

17. προσκυνεῖν, *flexis genibus et prostrato corpore humi venerari*, ‘to prostrate oneself before,’ ‘make obeisance to.’  
ὡς εἰκόνα, sc. ὄντα, G. § 277 note 2.

18. τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος, ‘the preserver of all things.’  
ἐπαινῶν, ‘approving,’ ‘accommodating yourself to our customs.’

19. ἔστι, ‘it is possible,’ G. § 28 note 1.

20. εἰ ἄλλο τι φρονέας, 'if you are otherwise minded.'

21. ἀγγέλοις, 'you will have to employ others (not me) to communicate with him,' G. § 137 note 4.

22. οὐ πάτριον, sc. ἐστὶ, 'it is not in accordance with ancient custom.' Cf. Arist. Ekk1. 778 οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, Dem. de cor. § 203 οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς εἴκοι, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ, Aesch. c. Ktesiph. § 20 οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλή; οὐδὲ γὰρ πατριὸν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. i 123, 1 πατριον ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πύνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι, iv 92, 2. μὴ προσκυνήσαντος, = ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσῃ, G. § 226, 1. Cf. Aelian var. hist. i 21: νόμος ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριος Πέρσαις, τὸν ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλθόντα βασιλέως μὴ πρότερον λόγου μεταλαγγάρειν πρὶν ἢ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν, where a story is told of Ismenias of Thebes, that he would not condescend to observe the customary obeisance, but made a pretence of doing so by dropping his ring and stooping to pick it up, when in the presence of the Shah.

24. φήμην, 'reputation, 'glory.'

25. αὐξήσων] G. § 277, 3. πείσομαι] This compliance is in obedience to the deity who has exalted the Persians and placed him in their power. The Spartan deputies Sperthias and Balis refused (ἀπεμαχέσαντο) to fall down and worship the king according to the story told by Herodotus vii 136.

27. τῶν νῦν, sc. προσκυνούντων.

28. ὥστε, *itaque*, 'accordingly,' 'and so.'  
μηδὲν, adv. 'not at all.'

§ 3. 30. τῖνα δ' Ἑλλήνων] predicative.

1. φῶμεν] G. § 256. ἰδιώτη] (σοφῶ, as is shown 35 by the expression τὴν γνώμην. ἰδιώτης is the 'ordinary man' in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by the possession of some professional acquirement, as that of soldier, orator, physician, athlete, or by his office. τὴν γνώμην] G. § 160, 1.



2. *οὐκ ἐν, non iam*, no further than what has been told you.

3. *πρότερος βασιλεύς*] G. § 175, 1, note 1.

4. *φύλας*] 1, 2; 7, 4; 13, 2. *Ἐρατοσθένης*] Eratosthenes of Cyrene was born B.C. 276, and flourished in the reigns of the third, fourth and fifth Ptolemies.

He is said to have been summoned by Ptolemy Evergetes from Athens to Alexandria, where he succeeded Kallimachos, as he was himself succeeded by the poet Apollonios Rhodios, as head of the famous Library. He was the 'admirable' Crichton of ancient learning; and need to be called the second Plato, and was the first honoured with the name of 'philologist;' and certainly no one except Aristotle could compare with him in the compass and accuracy of his learning (Bernhardt *Eratosthenica* Berol. 1822 pp. XIII f). The two sciences of astronomical geography and chronology were founded by him, as also the historical criticism of the primitive Greek history. He was also an observer, a collector of facts, an inductive philosopher, but his reputation rests chiefly on his discoveries, as his literary labours are represented by only a few fragments. Besides geographical and mathematical treatises he wrote an astronomical poem *Hermes*, a treatise on the old comedy in twelve books, and another on moral philosophy (*περί πλούτου καὶ κακίας*), of which that 'on riches and poverty' (*περί πλεονείας καὶ πενίας*) to which Plutarch here refers, may have been a part. The most important of his purely literary works were the chronographies. The great achievement of his three books of *γεωγραφικά* was the discovery of a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth.

5. *ἐν τοῖς*] 25, 1, note. *προσιστόρησε*, 'narrates besides.'

6. *Ἐρετρικῆς*, of Eretria in Euboea, 11, 4. *ἦν—ἀρχῇ, quacum consuevit, quam habuit*, 'with whom the *ιστρ* lived.' Cf. Ter. Andr. '*dic sodes, quis heri Chrysidem habuit?*' Thuc. vi 54, 2, Xen. de rep. Lac. i § 7, § 8, Cyrop. i 6, 4.

7. *σώσασιν*, 'introduction.' Polyb. hist. iii 78, 2 *ἀδὰ τὸ πρόσφατον τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συστάσεως*. *συνιστάειν* is common in the sense of *commendare*, 'to introduce,' e.g. Plato p. 127 A *ὅτι ἐν βούλῃ συστήσομέν σε*, 123 A *εὖ*

ἐθέλει με οὐδενὶ συστήσαι, Xenoph. Anab. III 1, 8 Ξενοφῶν  
 συνεστάθη τῷ Κύρῳ, Plut. Pyrrh. 5, 4 τὸν ἀρχινοχόον τῷ  
 Γέλωνι συνέστησεν.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1. 9. δ' οὖν] 27, 1, note. The speech of Themistokles  
 is the same in substance with the letter given in Thucydides,  
 see above.

11. τίς ἐστι] G. § 243.

13. ἦκω σοι, says more than the ἦκω παρὰ σε of Thu-  
 cydides.

15. κωλύσαντι] G. § 277, 2.

16. τὴν δῶξιν] c. 16. ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γιγνημένῃ,  
 'having been placed in a state of security.'

17. παρέσχε, 'gave me the opportunity.' τὰ οἰκία  
 σωζόμενα, 'the affairs of my own country being safe' (σω-  
 ζόμενα=σὰ ὄντα), 'the immunity of my own country from  
 danger.' χάρισσασθαι τι καὶ ὑμῖν, 'to do you also a  
 favour,' i.e. as I had done my country.

18. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν] 'as far then as concerns myself,' 'with  
 respect to myself then.' The dative belongs to the whole  
 sentence, G. § 184, 5. πάντα—συμφοραῖς, 'anything suits  
 my present fallen fortunes,' i.e. in my present position I am  
 prepared for the worst. Cf. Soph. Aiac. 534 πρέπον γε  
 τᾶν ἦν δαίμονος τοῦμοῦ τόδε, i.e. 'that would have been in  
 character with my destiny.'

20. χάριν, 'thanks' for my services. εὐμενῶς, 'gra-  
 tiously,' to be taken with διαλλαττομένου, Perikl. 39, 1.

§ 2. 21. παραιτῆσθαι, *deprecari*, 'to avert by entreaty.'

22. μάρτυρας θέμενος, 'taking as witnesses of the services  
 I have rendered the Persians.' δυνάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν Thucyd. Cf. Eur. Supplic. 261 Δήμητρα  
θέμεναι μάρτυρ ἡλίου τε φῶς. ὧν εὐεργέτησα=τούτων δ'  
εὐεργέτησα, G. § 153.

**23. ἀπόχρησαι, 'make full use of.'**

Ἀποχωρᾶμαι means (1) *multum et libere utor, totum in usum meum con-*  
*suto*, Thuc. I 68, 4, VI 17, 1, VII 42, 5, Plutarch. Cat. c. 5 p. 338 F τοῖς  
οικαίταις ὡς ὑποσυνίοις ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γήρως ἐλαύνειν, Alexand. c. 71  
p. 704 B ὕβριν ἐφάσαν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἅπαντα νῦν ἀπο-  
τίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνη, C. Caes. c. 58 p. 735 A ἐνέτικτον καυῆς ἔρωτα δόξης  
ὡς ἀποκεχρημένη τῇ παρούσῃ, Polyb. XVII 15, 9 χρῶνται τοῖς προδόταις  
οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον' ὅταν γε μὴν ἀποχρήσωνται ('when they have  
made what use they can of them'), χρῶνται λοιπὸν ὡς προδόταις.—(2)  
*adulator*, 'to misuse or to use for some other object than the pretended  
one,' 4, 2, Timol. c. 16 πρὸς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ σχολῇ,  
Apophrh. 17 p. 178C συνεβούλευε (Φίλιππος τῷ νιφί) τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυνατῶν  
καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἶτα οἷς μὲν χρῆσθαι, οἷς  
δ' ἀποχρήσθαι, Aem. Paul. c. 86 p. 274 F ἱκανῶς ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς  
εἰς τὴν τῶν καταρρωμένων ἀποκέρχρηται νέμεσιν.

**24. ἀποπλήρωσιν, 'satisfying, glutting.'** Plut. de san.  
praec. 18 p. 132 A οὐ δέῃ χρῆσθαι κρεωφαγίαις πρὸς ἀποπλή-  
ρωσιν ὀρέξεως, ὥσπερ λύκους ἢ λέοντας, adv. Kol. c. 30 p.  
1135 A.

**25. σώσεις μὲν κτλ. 'in saving my life, you will be saving  
one who throws himself at your feet as an humble suppliant  
(and therefore it is your duty to help him); in putting me to  
death you will get rid of an enemy to Greece.'**

**27. ἐπεβίβασε τῷ λόγῳ, orationi divinum ostentum sub-**  
*iunxit*, 'he brought forward supernatural signs in support of  
his words.'

Cf. Plut. Cam. c. 18 p. 137 A τῶν ἱερώων οἱ καλούμενοι Φητιαλεῖς ἐνῆγον  
ἐπιθειάζοντες, *religionem animis obicientes, deos invocantes tamquam*  
*testes s. ultores*. So in Thucyd. VIII 53, 2 the Scholiast explains ἐπι-  
θειάζοντων μὴ κατάγειν by θεῖά τινα ἐπιβοαιμένων=*sacrosanctis obtesta-*  
*tionibus deprecantes eius restitutionem*. Cf. de gen. Socr. c. 9 p. 579 F  
οἱ δὲ, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς τινες εἶναι δοκοῖεν, ἐπιθειάζουσιν τὰς πράξεις (i.e. *divini-*  
*tatem quandam suis actionibus affingunt*) δειράματα καὶ φάσματα προϊστά-  
μενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἰόντων, Cam. c. 30 p. 144 F ὑπομνησκουσα τόπων ἁγίων  
ὅς 'Ρωμίλος ἢ Νομάς ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. It is also used by Plutarch  
in the sense of 'inspiring,' de gen. Soc. c. 10 p. 580 D αὐτῷ συνεφέγγετο  
τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζον ταῖς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεσιν, ib. c. 20 p. 589 D οἱ  
πολλοὶ καταδρθούσιν οἰονταὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἐπιθειάζειν.

προσδιελθών, 'going through besides.' Cf. de Isid. c. 30 p. 362 π νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χειρὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

28. ἐν Νικογένους, sc. οἰκίᾳ 'in Nicogenes' house, 26. 1, Madvig Gr. Synt. § 47 Rem. 2, Plat. Protag. p. 320 ἅ ἐν Ἀρίφρονος ἐπαίδευεν, Theact. p. 206 ἅ ἐν κιθαριστοῦ μεμαθηκέναι, Charm. p. 155 οὐκέτ' ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ, Xen. Mem. III 13, 3 ἐν Ἀσκληπίου sc. νεφί, Plut. quaest. conv. VI 7 p. 686 οὐ τῶν παρατιθέντων ἐν Καλλίου καὶ Ἀγάθωνος ὄψων. μὲντευμα] not mentioned elsewhere.

29. Δωδωναίου Διός, 'Zeus of Dodona,' or Zeus Νῆϊος 'aqueous,' according to the special attribute by which he was known in conjunction with Dione.

The vexed question about the site of the ancient temple has been finally set at rest by the discovery of a number of inscriptions recording dedications to these deities, which has verified the prediction of the venerable Bishop of Lincoln made some forty-five years since that it would be found at Dramisus, a place about seven miles from Iannina (*Greece, Pictorial, descriptive and hist.* p. 247 ed. 1, p. 324 ed. 2). These inscriptions were published in the splendid volume of Constantin Caraponos in 1878 entitled *Dodone et ses ruines*, which contains besides a list of an immense quantity of relics and works of art brought to light in the course of the excavations.

Mr E. S. Roberts, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, gives an interesting detailed account of the oracle inscriptions in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. I p. 228, April 1881: they are engraved more or less legibly upon one or both sides of thin leaden plates (*sortes* Cic. de div. I § 76), which contain the questions addressed or prayers offered to the deity by his votaries, whether individuals or communities, the consultant being in every case required to put his question or prayer into writing. 'The examination' of them, he says, 'has established a new proof of the considerable part which the consultation of the oracle played in the public and private life of the ancient Greek. In circumstances of importance or embarrassment he had recourse to the omniscient deity, and sought from him the means of succeeding in an enterprise or grappling with a difficulty in much the same way as we now consult a lawyer or a physician. The inscriptions which we possess range over a long period of time, from perhaps the fifth century B.C. to the date of the final destruction of the temple in B.C. 88 or even later.'

30. τοῦ θεοῦ, sc. Διός. Ὁμώνυμος is here used as a subst., cf. Plato Sophist. p. 218 β τὸν Σωκράτους ὁμώνυμον,

Protag. p. 811 B παρὰ τὸν σαυτοῦ δμώνυμον ἐλθών, Theaet. p. 147 C τῷ σῷ δμωνύμῳ Σωκράτει.

80. συμφρονήσαι, *auguraretur, coniceret*, 'guessed,' or *re perpensa cogitaret*, 'came to the conclusion that.'

The verb συμφρονεῖν has two meanings, (1) *consentire, idem sentire*, 'to be of one mind, to assent to,' hence *conspirare* 'to agree together,' e.g. Public. c. 23 p. 109 C αἱ γυναῖκες ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὰς συμφρονήσασαι διεπύθησαν ἐναντὶν ὄλον, Cat. c. 16 p. 345 D συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ κατήγον κτλ, Philop. c. 21 p. 368 B συμφρονήσαντες ἰδέεσθαι, Mar. c. 44 p. 432 A ἔως οἱ περὶ Κίρραν καὶ Σερτώριον συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεντο κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς, de mulier. virt. p. 243 F ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμφρονήσασαι κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, Alex. c. 11 p. 670 C Θηβαίους ἀφιστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους; or (2), as it is commonly employed by Plutarch, *deliberare*, 'to reflect,' 'consider well,' (1) absol. as in de gen. Socr. c. 24 p. 593 C τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγομένων συνίστας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας, Demetr. c. 49 p. 913 D μεταβαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν ἤδη ποτε συμφρονήσαντας, de mul. virt. 9 p. 248 C τὸν δὲ συμφρονήσαντα (*causa mali intellecta*) διακόψαι τοῦ κρηνοῦ τὸ λειότατον, quaest. Rom. 5 p. 265 A τὸν οὖν Ἀριστίνον συμφρονήσαντα (*ostaculo prode intellecto*) παρασχεῖν ἱαντὸν ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀπολοῦσαι, Demetr. c. 8 p. 892 C ὅψε συμφρονήσαντες ἰβήθουσι οἱ στρατηγοί, Cam. c. 29 p. 144 A ταχὺ δὲ συμφρονήσας ὁ Βρέννος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κέλτους, Pyrrh. c. 11 p. 383 B ἐτυχεν ἀφρημένος τὸ κράνος, ἔχρι οὐ πάλιν συμφρονήσας καὶ περιθέμενος ἐγνώσθη τῷ λόφῳ διαπρέποντι, Alex. c. 9 p. 669 B οὕτω δὲ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος κατήγαγε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, c. 71 p. 704 B τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἰθαδίον ἀνοπλοῖ, c. 73 p. 705 D πολὺν χρόνον ἀναυδος ἦν, μόλις δὲ σωφρονήσας Διονύσιος εἶπε καλεῖσθαι. (2) followed by an objective accusative; Nic. c. 19 p. 636 ὥστε τὸν Νικίαν συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀνυμνεῖν, Eum. c. 9 p. 588 F τοῦ δὲ Μενάνδρου ταχὺ συμφρονήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον, Aem. Paul. c. 33 p. 273 B οὐ πᾶν συμφρονοῦντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, Sertor. c. 26 p. 582 A εἰτε δυσχεραίνων τὴν ἀκοσμίαν εἴτε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν συμφρονήσας, Brut. c. 10 p. 988 C ταῦτα συμφρονήσας ('when he had thus reflected') ἀνέντυξε Βρούτῳ, Cam. c. 36 p. 148 C δὲ δὴ συμφρονήσας μετήγαγεν ἕξω πύλης τὸ δικαστήριον, Sertor. c. 18 p. 577 E δὲ δὴ ὅψα μάλα συμφρονήσας κτλ., ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἰθάρρει κύκλωσιν δεδοικώς. (3) by a participle, G. § 280, Nic. c. 23 p. 593 C τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἐπισκότησιν ἀμωσγέπως ἤδη συνεφρόνουν ('perceived') καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σελήνην...πὺς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ πασσαλῆσου τὸ φῶς ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ ῥῆδιον ἢ καταλαβεῖν. (4) with a relative clause: Alex. c. 60 p. 699 A οὕτω δὲ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πύρρον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε διαβεβηκώς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπείναί, C. Marc. c. 18 p. 222 D συμφρονήσαντες...ὡς ἀνεν φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν πατρικίων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν Μάρκιον ἐπεισαν αὐτοὺς κτλ., Lys. c. 21 p. 445 A συμφρονήσαντες ὡς ταῖς ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ταῖς πλείους κατέχων διὰ παντὸς ἀρχεῖ κτλ., Artox. c. 20 p. 1021 D

τούτων γενομένων συμφρονήσας ἐν τρέπον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πολέμητόν, VII sapp. conv. p. 150 B συμφρονήσας ὡς οὐνοῦ νιδε εἴη, de gen. Socr. 23 p. 590 B οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἶτ' ἐγήγορεν εἶτ' ὠνειροπᾶλει.

1. εἰναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι] the interpretation suits the 36 reality as well as the name.

§ 3. 8. θαυμάσας] Thuc. i 138 βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. τὸ φρόνημα, 'his high spirit,' Thuc. i 81, 2, ii 43; 3; 62, 5, iv 80, 2, vi 18, 4; Nep. Them. 10 *huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans*.

4. μακαρίσας ἑαυτὸν, *sibi ipsi gratulatus*, 'congratulating himself,' 'pronouncing himself fortunate.'

5. ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ, 'on the ground of what he thought a piece of good luck.' Madvig, Synt. § 73, 2. κατενέμα-  
νος, *precatus*, not *imprecatus*, medio sensu. Cf. quæst. Rom. 52 p. 277 A διὰ τι κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀποβῆναι τῶν οἰκογενῶν;

7. τὸν Ἀριμάνιον] Angramainius (Ahriman), the Persian god, who was the author or personification of evil in opp. to Ὁρομάσδης (Ahuramazda, Ormazd) the author or personification of good. See Rawlinson's Essay on the Persian religion in his translation of Herodotus Vol. i p. 426 ff.

9. διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων, 'in the middle of his sleep,' G. § 142, 8. Cf. Plato de rep. i p. 330 A ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐγειρόμενος, Soph. 266 B τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντάσματα, Plut. Pyrrh. 11, 2, Arist. 11, 6 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους.

## CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. 13. μηδὲν] 9, 2. ἐξ ὧν ἴδρα, 'from what he saw, viz. that' etc. G. § 153 note 1.

14. τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἑγγύς, 'the people who stood near him at the palace gates,' by which he passed.

15. παρῶντος, 'as he came forward' (*Blass*): the common reading is παρόντος.

12. ἀποτετοληκώς, 'having had the rashness,' rather more forcible than the simple τετοληκώς.

§ 3. οὐδὲ γὰρ] further reason for their dislike of him. Cf. Thucyd. i. c. ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν γίνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἢ ἐπιτίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν μάλιστα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦντι ξυμετός φαίνεσθαι.

13. κυνηγεσίῳ, from κυνηγέσιω, *venatio*, 'a hunt;' Isocr. Aroep. § 45 p. 148 π περὶ τὰ—κυνηγέσια διατρίβειν, Xen. Cyr. 3, 11 τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίῳ, 1, 1 τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ, II 2 ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίῳ, Plut. Alex. c. 4 ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίῳ. The form κυνηγέσια is not used by Xenophon or Plutarch. Hunting was a very favourite amusement with the Persian kings, and preparations were often made for it on a large scale, see e.g. Xen. Cyr. I 4, 14 ff.

14. τῶν οἰκοῦ διατριβῶν, 'his domestic life,' 'private occupations and amusements.' See n. to 2, 3.

15. διακούσαι] 2, 3. τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, 'the doctrines of the Magians.' The ancient and venerable Magian religion was the worship of the elements, in which there were no temples, images or emblems, but only fire-altars on the high mountains for sacrifice. (Herod. I 131, Strabo xv § 59 p. 1039, Diog. Laert. Prooem. §§ 6—9). This was not the original religion of the Persians, whose most ancient belief was pure dualism. Rawlinson's *Herod.* Vol. I Essay v p. 426 ff.

17. τοῦ βασιλέως κλεύσαντος] G. § 183. ἐπὶ δὲ] proof of Themistokles' influence with the King. Demaratus was king of Sparta from about B.C. 510—B.C. 491, when Kleomenes, his colleague, obtained his deposition by bribing the Delphic oracle. He thereupon went to the Persian court where he was avourably received by Darius. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, where he performed the part of the unheeded counsellor, Herod. VI 61—70, VII 101—105, 209, 234—5.

19. τὴν κίταριν ἐπαυρόμενος, = ὁρθῇ τῇ κίτρει οἱ τιάραι 'wearing his tiara upright, like the kings do.' Κίταρις is another form of κίδαρις, used elsewhere by Plutarch, e.g. Artox. α. 28 p. 1026 π ὡς οὐδὲν ὀνίστησιν ἡ κίταρις ἐστῶσα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ζητούντας ὀρθοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. Pomp. c. 42 p. 641 D τὴν δὲ κίταριν (Mithridatis) Γάιος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου σύντροφος ἔδωκε κρύφα δεσθέντι Φαύστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδί θανμαστῆς οὖσαν ἐργασίας, Philo II p. 155 A, id. ib. p. 152, 29 κιδάρει γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν βασιλεῖς ἀντὶ διαδήματος εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι. The royal bonnet, worn by the kings of Persia, Armenia and Parthia had a tall stiff and straight crown, encircled by a blue diadem ornamented with white spots (Quint. Curt. III 3.) A. Rich's *Comp. to Lat. Dict.* p. 158<sup>b</sup>, who gives an illustration of it from a Syrian medal representing Tigranes king of Armenia.

20. εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, 'to drive into and through Sardis.'

21. Μιθροπαύστης μὲν κτλ. answers to ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως l. 24.

22. τῆς τιάρας, i. q. κιτάρως, G. § 171, 1. αὕτη μὲν κτλ.] more a parallelism than opposition. 'The tiara would want brains under it, and outward marks of distinction do not alone make the king.'

23. δὲν ἐπικαλύψα, *quod tegat*.

24. ἀν, = ἐάν, ἤν.

§ 4. ἀπωσαμένου, 'giving him a repulse.'

25. ὀργῇ, adverbially, 'in a passion,' Herod. III 35, 1 114.

26. δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, 'being thought to be inexorably angry with him,' 'when it was thought he would never forgive him;' 2, 6, Polyb. XXI 14, 15 (XXI 31, 15 Hultsch) πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν ἀπαραιτήτως, ἐλεῖν δὲ τοὺς πολλούς.

27. δεηθείς κτλ., 'by his intercessions prevailed on the king and reconciled him to the offender.'



28. τοὺς ὑστερον] G. § 141 n. 3. ἐφ' ὧν—ἀνεκράθησαν, 'in whose time Persian politics were more mixed up with those of Greece.' Galb. c. 1 p. 1053 σ νομίζων φύσεως γενναίας...δεῖσθαι μάλιστα τῷ πρῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραννυμένης. The time meant is that subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when the Persians so often entered into relations with the individual states of Greece.

30. δσάκις δεηθεῖεν] G. § 233.

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1. ὡς ἔσονται] G. § 203 n. 3, § 217 and § 248 n.

2. παρ' αὐτῷ, *apud se*, 'at his court.'

4. λαμπρὰς τραπέζης παρατεθείσης, 'when a magnificent banquet had been served to him.' For τράπεζα = *cibi mensas appositi*, cf. Herod. i 162 τὸν Ἀστυάγης ἀνύμφω τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, Eur. Alc. 2 θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι.

6. ἀπωλόμην ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμην, = *ei ἐσωζόμεσθα*, G. § 222: 'we should have been badly off, had we not been ruined.' He meant that exile had proved their salvation. Blass compares Demochares' saying about the demagogue Stratokles: *μαίνοιτο μετὰν, εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο* (vit. Demetr. c. 24 p. 900 A), i.e. because his gross flattery, amounting to madness, was a source of gain to him. The story is repeated by Plutarch in his *de Alex. virt.* c. 5 p. 328 F, *de exil.* c. 7 p. 602 A.

7. οἱ πλείστοι] as Thucydides i 138, 6 δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα του ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον (ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυμυνητάτων τῶν τότε εἶναι), Μυϋντα δὲ ὄψον. It was the custom of the Persian kings to assign the revenues of towns as pin-money for their queens (Xen. Anab. i 4, 9; Plato Alcibiad. i c. 40 p. 123 c). That is, in each case the rent which was always paid to the absolute monarchs of the East, as an acknowledgment that the property of all the soil was theirs and which amounted generally to  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the produce, was given up to them by the king.

8. ὄψον] bread and wine being regarded as the main supports of human life, any extra articles of food e.g. meat, fish or

vegetables were included under the common name of *δψον*, Xen. Oecon. v. 3 (ἡ γῆ) *δψα* πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φύει τὰ δὲ τρέφει. In later writers it was applied particularly to fish, and so Diodorus (11, 57) understands it here, for he observes that *Myus* was chosen to provide *δψον*, because it had near it *θάλασσαν εὐίχθυν*.

*Μαγνησίαν*] *Magnesia ad Maeandrum*, as it was called to distinguish it from the town in Lydia, stood on the Lethæus and was surrounded by a plain of extraordinary fertility. Originally an Aeolian city, founded by Magnesians from Europe, it was destroyed in B.C. 726 and was reoccupied by the Milesians: it was the residence of Themistokles and is celebrated as possessing a beautiful temple of Artemis Leukophryene, the ruins of which are found at *Inekbazar*.

*Λάμψακον*] *Lampsakus* was one of the most famous Greek settlements on the Hellespont. It lay near the mouth of the Propontis, nearly opp. to Kallipolis (*Gallipoli*) on the Thracian coast; it was named *Pityusa* before the Milesians settled there. During the Ionian revolt it fell into the hands of the Persians (Herod. v 117). After the battle of Mykale in B.C. 479 it sided with Athens, but revolted after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, being, however, unfortified it was easily retaken by Strombichides. Several distinguished men were born there, Charon the historian (27, 1), Anaximenes the orator, and Metrodorus, the disciple of Epicurus. It was the chief seat of the worship of Priapus, hence called by Vergil (Georg. iv 111) *Hellespontiacus*.

9. *Μυῦντρα*] *Myus* was the smallest among the twelve Ionian cities. It was situated in Karia on the southern bank, about four miles from the mouth, of the Maeander. In the days of the geographer Strabo the population was so reduced that they abandoned their town and became incorporated with Miletus.

10. *Νεάνθης*] 1, 2 l. 10. *Περκώτην*] *Percote* (*Bergaz*) was a town on the Hellespont, between Abydos and Lampsakus.

11. *Παλαεσκήψιν*] *Palaeskepsis* was the chief town in the interior of Mysia. In subsequent times Skepsis was

the seat of a school of philosophy: and it was here that the library of Aristotle was burned in a pit after the death of Neleus, who inherited it from Theophrastus. εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην, 'to supply bedding and clothing.'

## CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. 12. πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις, 'on some business connected with Greece,' undertaken for the king, 29, 4.

14. τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας, i.e. τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας) (τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον, 'inland' or Phrygia Maior, as it was named, to distinguish it from Phrygia Minor in Mysia on the Hellespont; it formed the central plateau of Asia Minor westward of the river Halys (Herod. v 52), comprising the upper valley of the Maeander.

15. παρσκευακῶς, Cato mai. c. 15 διώκουσιν ἑτέροις συνηγωνίσαστο καὶ παρσκευάσεν (subornavit) διώκοντας.

ἔκπαλαι = ἐκ παλαιού, iam dudum, 'for a long time back.'

Phrynichus (ed. Lobeck p. 45) says ἀπόπαλαι, ἐκπάλαι, ἀμφὸν δυσχέρανε. ἐκ παλαιού γὰρ χρὴ λέγειν. Εἰς is used in a prepositional meaning with adverbs of time, in εἰσότε as (Hom. Od. ii 99), εἰς ὅπῃ (Aeschin. 67, 38), εἰς τότε (Plato de legg. p. 845 c) εἰς πότε (Soph. Ai. 1185) εἰς αἰεὶ (Thucyd.) εἰς ὅψι (Thuc. 8, 23), εἰσάπαξ (Thucyd., Plato) εἰς αἰθέρις (Plato de legg. p. 862 D etc.), εἰς ἔπειτα (Thucyd. i 130), εἰς αὐτίκα (Arist. Pac. 367), εἰς ὕστερον (Homer, etc.), εἰς τῆμος (Hom. Odys. vii 318), εἰς αὖριον. Ἐκτοτε did not come into use until after the Attic period, but ἐξέτι is found in Homer, and ἐξότε in Aristoph. Av. 334. Similarly ἐκπαλαι is only found in such writers as Arrian, Apollonius, Dyscolus, Josephus, Apollodorus. Plutarch uses it several times, e.g. Aristeid. c. 17 ἐκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργῶν, Nik. c. 9 ἐκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγόμενος, Demetr. c. 62 τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἐκπαλαι ποδῶν, Timoleon c. 10 καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἐκπαλαι προθύμως Ἀνδρομάχου (so Madvig Adv. i p. 578; vulgo ἐπὶ πάλαι), Sertor. comp. cum Eumen. c. i p. 595 c οἱ μὲν ἐκπαλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευον. Cf. Mr. Rutherford's observations in the *New Phrynichus* pp. 117—122, Sturs de dial. Maced. p. 209 ff.

16. Πισίδας, Pisidians, or the inhabitants of the mountain district between Phrygia and Pamphylia, who were men of predatory habits. ἀποκτενοῦντας] G. § 277, 3.

ἐταν—καταυλισθῇ, 'whenever he should take up his quarters,'

29. 247.

17. **Λεοντοκέφαλε**, (**Λεόντων κεφαλή**), mentioned also by Appian Mithr. 19, as **ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον Φρυγίας**.

18. **μσημβρίας**, 'at noon,' G. 179, 1.

19. **τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν**] **Magna mater**, **Rhea**, **Kybele** or **Kybēbe**, the mountain goddess, the great centre of whose worship was at **Pessinus** in **Phrygia**, under the shadow of **Mount Dindymon** (hence her name **Dindymene**), on which was a cave containing what was believed to be the oldest of her sanctuaries. **A. S. Murray**, *Manual of Mythology*, pp. 83—85. **δναρ**, 26, 2.

20. **ὕστέραι**, 'be too late for,' 'miss,' an intentionally ambiguous expression for 'avoid.' **μὴ περιπίσσης**] G. § 218.

21. **ἀντὶ τούτου**, 'as a recompense for this warning.' **οὐ αἰτῶ—Μνησιπτολέμαν**] G. § 164.

22. **θεράπειαν**] G. § 187 n. 4.

23. **τὴν λεωφόρον**, sc. **ὁδόν**, (**λεώς, φέρω**) *viam publicam*, 'the highway' to the coast.

24. **ἀφῆκε, omisit**, 'gave up.' Cf. **Thucyd.** viii 41, **εὐθὺς ἀφελς τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἐπλεῖ ἐς τὴν Καῦνον**. **ἐτέρῃ**, sc. **ὁδῷ**. **παραλλάξας**] **Hesychius** **παραλλάξας**: **παρελθὼν**, 'passing by,' properly, changing one's position relatively to another person: cf. **Xen. Hell.** vi 12 **ἐπεὶ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν**, **Polyb.** v 80, 4 **παραλλάξας τὴν πόλιν**, xv 2, 8 **ἐὰν παραλλάξωσι τὸν Μακάραν πόταμον**, **Plut. Pelop.** c. 23, **Pyrrh.** c. 7 **γενομένης δὲ διαμαρτίας καθ' ὁδὸν ἀλλήλους παρήλλαξαν**, **Agasil.** c. 34 **παραλλάξας τὸν Ἀγσιλαον**, **Cim.** c. 1 p. 478 **τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλλαχότος**, **Alcib.** c. 7. See note on 25, 2. **τῶν ὑπο[υγίων]** G. § 168.

§ 2. 26. **σκηνὴν**, not such as that mentioned in 26, 3, but the 'tent' under which he passed the night, which would be taken down in the morning and carried with the rest of the baggage by the sumpter-beasts (**ὑποζύγια**). **τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐνός**, *unum ex iumentis*, the numeral adjective being almost equivalent to the indefinite pronoun, an usage not

uncommon with the partitive genitive, but otherwise peculiar to later Greek (G. F. Schömann ad Plut. Cleom. 7, 2). Cf. Arat. c. 5 ἦν δὲ τῶν φηγάδων ἐνός, Ξενοκλέους, ἀδελφός, Cleom. 7, 2 τῶν ἐφόρων ἕνα, ib. 37, 2 οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν συνειδόντων.

29. ἐκπεράσαντες ἀνέψυχόν, *aulaea, quae aquam penitus imbibebant, expansa siccabant*, 'had spread them out and were drying them.' Herod. vii 59 τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες (*naves subductas ad aërem et ventum siccabant*), Xen. Hell. i 5, 10, Strabo xvii p. 1137 σ ἐν ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἡμέραις τελέως γυμνοῦται καὶ ἀναψύχεται τὸ πεδίον, Plut. Sull. c. 29 p. 470 Ἐ ἀναψύξει τὸν ἰδρῶτα τῶν ἱππῶν. The reading of F<sup>a</sup> ἐκπέσαντες is not noticed by any of the commentators.

30. ἐν τούτῳ, 'meanwhile.' προσιφέροντο, *accurrebant, invadebant*, 'were coming to attack them,' 14, 2; 15, 2- τὰ ψυχόμενα, 'what was hung out to dry.'

39 1. πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, 'by moonlight.'

2. κάκεινον = καὶ ἐκεῖνον, G. § 11, 2.

3. εὐρήσειν] G. § 134, 3.

4. τὴν αὐλαίαν ἐνέστελλον, 'were drawing back or raising the curtain.'

5. οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες] 26, 1.

6. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, 'the manifestation' of her presence to aid her worshipper. Diod. Sic. i c. 25 φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν Ἰσιν...κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τοῖς ἀξιούσι δίδοναι βοηθήματα φανερώς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν, (*praesentiam suam declarare* Cic. de nat. deor. ii), ib. διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπειαῖς ἐπιφάνειαν, Dionys. Halic. ii 68 πάντῳ δ' ἦν ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἱστορῆσαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπεδείξατο ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγκληθείσαις παρθένοις. The same writer ib. censures the Epicureans and other philosophers τοὺς διασύροντας ('who pull to pieces,' i.e. 'disparage'), τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν.

9. ἀπέδειξεν, *constituit*, 'appointed,' G. § 166. Herod. iii 63 τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπιτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδειξε, iv 67, v 64, Xen. Anab. i 1, 2.

## CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1. 10. ἦλθεν...καὶ θεῶτο] Observe the difference of tenses, 'when he had arrived and was engaged in viewing.'

11. κατασκευήν, 'architecture.' κατασκευή )( παρασκευή signifies 'stock,' 'fixed' )( temporary and occasional 'furniture': hence it is applied by Thucyd. i 10, 2 to the buildings of a city (εἰ λειφθελή (τῆς πόλεως) τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη), vi 17 to the forts for the defence of a country, vi 81 to the furniture of a ship, &c.

12. ἀναθημάτων, the regular term for 'votive offerings,' from ἀνατίθεσθαι 'to put up' in a temple, 'to dedicate.' εἶδε δὲ καὶ, 'and saw among other sights.' The common reading εἶδε καὶ is objectionable because it makes the apodosis begin here, which should naturally begin l. 17 εἶτε δὲ κ.τ.λ. I have therefore introduced δὲ, which might easily have been omitted from its juxtaposition to εἶδε, such instances of lipography being very common in ancient MSS.

13. τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον, 'the so-called water-carrier,' i.e. bronze statue of a maiden.

14. μέγεθος δέπηχυν] G. § 160, 1.

15. ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης, 'warden or master-surveyor of the water-supply.' It is not certain whether this officer was one of the regular commissioners or directors of the public works (ἐπίσταται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, ἀσύννομοι, *praefecti operum*) at Athens or not. A similar officer was appointed for the care of the roads (ὁδοποιός) Aeschin. 57, 27. The water-wardship was a very important office in a country like Attica, where the supply was deficient. One of his chief duties would be to superintend the public supply of water from the Kephissus and other small streams and conduits, and see that no one drew off a supply to which he was not entitled (ὑφαίρεισθαι),

or diverted their water-course (*παροχετεύειν*). *Ἰδὼν*, 'convicting,' a regular Attic law-term, like *φεύγων* (Perikl. 32), *ἀποφεύγων*, *διώκων*.

16. *ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος*, 'causing it to be made out of, with the fines' of those who paid their forfeits. So, as we are told by Pausanias (v 21, 2), the Eleans had certain statues of Zeus made in bronze with the fines paid by athletes (*ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα*). For *ποιησάμενος* cf. 5, 4, G. § 199 note 2, and for *ἐκ τῆς ζημίας* 4, 1 l. 12 *ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριτήρεις*.

17. *εἴτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς*, 'whether it was because his feelings were touched at the captivity of his offering or' etc.

20. *λόγον προσήνεγκεν*, 'addressed a proposal.' 23, 2.

§ 2. 24. *εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν κατέφυνε*, 'was driven to apply to the satrap's harem,' to intercede for him. Artox. 28 τοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδουομένου τοῖς πράγμασιν.

26. *ἐκείνον κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς*, constr. after the analogy of *παύειν*: the usual phrase would be *ἐκείνου κατεπράυνε τὴν ὀργήν*.

27. *παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον*, 'showed himself more cautious,' 5, 4 l. 18.

*καὶ τὸν φθόνον...δεδοικώς*, not 'the jealousy as well as the enmity' (*Sintenis*), for *καὶ* belongs to the whole sentence and not to *φθόνον* only.

29. *οὐ γάρ]* the *γάρ* belongs to the participial clause, not to *διῆγε*, 'for he did not travel about Asia because of their jealousy, but lived quietly at Magnesia.'

30. *Θεόπομπος]* 19, 1; 25, 2.

40 1. *καρπούμενος δωρεὰς*, 'in the enjoyment of presents from the king.'

2. *ὁμοία*, adverbial, *pariter cum*, 'in like manner with,'

26, 4 *χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλου-*

σιωπάτοις, vii 29, 4 τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ φονικώτατόν ἐστι, Herod. iii 8, 1 ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα, 57, 2 ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις, vii 118, 141, 1 ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα. τοῖς ἀρίστοις, 'the chief men.'

8. ἀδεῶς, 'quietly,' 'unmolested,' partly in opp. to πλανώμενος, partly to what follows. οὐ πᾶν τι] 4, 2.

4. προσέχοντος] 2, 4; 7, 1; 14, 2; 32, 2.  
vπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἀνω πράξεις, 'owing to his engagements about inland matters.'

§ 3. 8. Αἴγυπτος ἀφισταμένη, 'the revolt of Egypt,' which happened in B.C. 460=O1. 79, 4 under the leadership of Inarcho the Libyan. See Thucyd. i. 104, who also says that the Athenians came from Kyprus to their assistance, ἦλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον.

7. ἀναπλεύσαι] 16, 2.

8. ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτόν, 'made him (sc. the king) turn his attention to.' See Cr. App.

9. ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, *invadentibus Graecis occurrere et obsistere, vicissim Graecos invadere.* κωλύειν αὐξανόμενους] cf. Thucyd. i 26, 2 μὴ κωλύονται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι, Dion. Halic. 7, 25 κωλύειν τινα εἰσάγοντα. Hence Blass' conjecture κολούειν is needless.

10. ἐπ' αὐτόν, 'against him,' to be taken with αὐξανόμενους. δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο, 'forces were being put in motion.'

11. διεπέμποντο, 'were being despatched in different directions,' 'sent hither and thither,' cf. διαφέρεσθαι 14, 3. κατέβαινον] 26, 1.

12. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι, i. q. ἀπτεσθαι, ut res Graeciae susciperet, 'to attend to Hellenic affairs' not 'to attack Greece' (Stewart), which meaning would at any rate require τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Polybius, however (iii 51, 2), uses ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας for 'to hang on the rear of an enemy's army'



while on the march,' cf. iv 11, 6 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς οὐραγίας καὶ καταπειράζειν τῶν πολεμίων, ib. 12, 1, and Plutarch C. Caesar c. 52 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν, ib. Sull. c. 29 p. 470 π, also Diod. Sic. xi 17 τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐξέπεμψεν προστάξας ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, ib. xiii c. 10 ἐξήπτοντο τῆς μάχης. Adv. Colot. c. 10 ἐξάπτεται τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους ταῦτ' ὡς πρῶτος it means *insectatur* 'he assails.' In Alc. c. 28 p. 207 π αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξήπτοντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο it means 'began the attack.'

14. οὔτε δ' ὀργὴν τινα] this is the beginning of the conclusion to the sentence which commences with ὡς ὁ Αἴγυπτος l. 5.

15. ἐπαρθεῖς, 'elated'; πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον may depend either upon this or upon δυνάμει.

16. ὥς μὲν, answers τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον. οὐδ' ἐφικτόν, 'was not so much as attainable, feasible,' even if he had wished. This is a cause which Thucydides also assigns (i 138): νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ δ' ὑπέσχετο.

§ 4. 18. στρατηγούς] Perikles, Myronides, Tolmidas, Leokrates.

19. ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος, 'being marvellously successful,' 'having marvellous good fortune,' a favourite word with Plutarch as is shown by Wytttenbach ad Mor. Tom. vi i p. 570.

20. αἰδοί, = αἰδούμενος G. § 188, 1, 'from a regard for,' 'feeling of shame at,' because he would not tarnish his glory, and disgrace the great trophies he had won.

21. ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος, 'determining, as his best course.'

22. τὴν τελευταίην πρόπουσαν] G. § 142, 8.

24. δεξιωσάμενος, 'after shaking hands with, taking leave of them.'

ὡς ὁ πολὺς λόγος, sc. ἐστὶ, 27, 2, 'as the common story goes,' referred to by Arist. Eq. 83

βέλτιστον ἡμῶν αἷμα ταυρεῖον πιεῖν,  
Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

and reported by Klitarchus and Stratokles, acc. to Cic. Brut. c. 11 § 22 f., *nam quem Thucydides (I. 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse mortem; hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset, exceperisse sanguinem patera et eo poto mortuum concidisse.* On the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood see Plin. nat. hist. 11, 90 *taurorum sanguis celerrime coit atque aurescit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

25. ἔνιοι, sc. φασίν. φάρμακον ἐφήμερον, τὸ αὐθιγ-  
μερὸν ἀναιροῦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ οὕτω κατ' ἐξοχὴν τὸ κῶνειον, v. Suid.  
et Hesychium (Koraës): *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gell. vi 4)  
'some quickly-operating poison,' lit. 'that kills on the same day.'

26. προσεγγεγμένος, *ori suo admoveus*, 'taking to him-  
self,' 'swallowing.' Xen. Cyr. iv 2, 41 *τοσούτων σίτον προσ-  
φέρεισθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς*, Sympos. iv 41 *πολὸν πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς  
ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμεινας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι*, Aesch. c.  
Timarch. § 145 *πάντων αὐτὸν κελεύοντων λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον  
προσενέγκασθαι.* κατέστρεψε, sc. τὸν βίον, 'ended his  
life.' So Cebes Tab. c. 10 l. 184 ed. Jerram *τὸν βίον κατα-  
στρέφει.*

28. ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις, 'in civil and military services.'

1. χρώμενον διατελεῖν] G. 279, 4 note. φιλανθρώ- 41  
πως, 'in a friendly manner,' 'with kindness.' On the mean-  
ing of *φιλανθρωπία* there is an excellent note by Dr Field on  
Acts xxviii, 2 in his *Otium Norvicense* Part III pp. 90—91, where  
he shows that there is no trace in Greek of its modern use, its  
object being always individuals appealing to our common  
humanity, and compares Plut. vit. Cat. mai. c. 5.

## CHAPTER XXXII

§ 1. 8. παῖδας, predicative. ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχ(π)ης] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης should have followed, but the construction is altered.

4. Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, of Alopeke, a deme in the phylē Antiochia.

6. Πλάτων] Meno c. 81 p. 93: ἡ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν υἱὸν Ἰππία μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθόν; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ὁρθὸς ἐστηκώς καὶ ἡκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ὁρθός· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ εἰργάζετο, ἃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπαιδεύσατο καὶ ἐποίησε σοφόν, ὅσα διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν εἶχετο.—Ἀκήκοα—τί δαί τόδε; Ὡς Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἅπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἤδη του ἀκήκοας ἡ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβύτερου;—Οὐ δῆτα.

7. τᾶλλα, 'in other respects,' G. § 160, 2 note. οὐδενὸς ἀξίου] G. § 178 note.

8. Νεοκλῆς] Neoklés, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

10. Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος κτλ., 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' Plut. Sol. c. 7 p. 81 f παῖδα θετὸν ἐσχέ ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

11. πλείους, 'several.' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, 'by his second wife.' Cat. mai. c. 27 p. 352 f ἀπέλιπε γεγεῖν ἕνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης. ἐπιγαμεῖν is 'to marry besides,' i.e. 'to take a second wife': cf. Eur. Alc. l. 305 μὴ 'πιγῆμης τοῖσδε μητρὶαν τέκνους, Plut. Cat. mai. c. 24 p. 351 ὃ ἐπιγῆμαντα τοῖς ἐνηλίκους ('of age') παυσί Τιμώνασσαν, Arist. c. Cat. comp. c. 6 p. 356 A ἐνηλίκῳ παιδί...ἐπιγῆμαι κόρην ὑπηρετόν, so Plin. Ep. vi 33, 2 quam illi (filiae) novocam...induxerat. Diod. Sic. xi 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife Περσίδα, εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν, ἔτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of the Mnesiptolema mentioned in c. 30.

13. οὐκ ἂν δμομήτριος] κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον ἐξῆν Ἀθηναίοις τὰς ἐκ πατέρων γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκ μητέρων (*Korais*). Cf. Nep. Cim. c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natus uxores ducere*.

15. ἀδελφιδότς, 'nephew.'

17. ἀδελφῶν] who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

18. ἐθραψε, sc. Phrasikles.

§ 2. 19. τάφον] Thuc. i 138, 5 *μημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis Thuc. vii, Timoleon at Syracuse, v. Plutarch Timol. c. 39, 4.

21. οὕτε corresponds to ἀτε λέγων φίλαρχος. προτέχων] 2, 4; 31, 2. ἐν τῷ, sc. λόγῳ, 'in his address to the associates' or members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhnken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andokides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in B.C. 411. But the breach of Andokides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415, was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411 he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420—418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cf. Plut. Alk. c. 18.' Prof. Jebb *Attic orators*, Vol. i. p. 139 f.

24. παροξύων, 'by way of exasperating,' 'intending to exasperate.'

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ] notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, which, in comparisons where ὡς or ὥσπερ precedes, is not uncommon.

Cf. Aem. Paul. c. 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἰσοπτορῇ, τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περὶ τοῦτον κοσμεῖν τὸν βίον, Anton. c. 9 ἐκπωμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς, ταῖς ἀποδημίαις διαφερομένων, Arat. c. 38 καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ, τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ib. 41 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου, τῆς πατρίδος, de exsil. c. 16 ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας, διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, Sull. c. 22 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο, Arrian de exp. Alex. III 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρὴ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει, τῇ ψάμμῃ, Plato de rep. VIII p. 545 E ὡς πρὸς παῖδας

ἡμᾶς παιζούσας, i.e. πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς πρὸς παῖδας, Tim. p. 79 A βεῖν ὥσπερ δι' αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ποιεῖ ρεύματα, i.e. διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ δι' αὐλῶνος, ib. p. 91 D κάρπον δρέψαντες ὡς εἰς δρουραν τὴν μήτραν, Diodor. Sic. XVIII c. 32 καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος ὄχυρὸν τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατέφυγον, Lucian de salt. c. 81 ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ, τῇ ὀρχηστῇ ἐαυτὸν βλέπῃ. Cf. Jacobs on Anthol. Palat. Vol. III p. 852.

26. μονοῦ, i.e. μόνον οὐ, *tantum non*, 'all but.'  
μηχανὴν ἄρας, 'lifting a machine,' i.e. employing stage machinery.

27. προαγαγὼν] 'bringing on the stage.' τινά] *nescio quem*, ironically.

28. ἀγῶνα κινεῖν, 'to excite a struggle of feeling,' 'to make a moving scene.' Sol. c. 7, p. 82 B τοῦ μέλλοντος ὠδῖνα; δὲ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ στερήσονται, παρέχοντος.

29. οὐδ'—ὁ τυχών, 'not even an ordinary man,' 'no one without exception.' ὁ τυχών, lit. 'one who meets you by chance.' Lat. *quivis, primus quisque*. πέπλασται, sc. ταῦτα.

§ 3. Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer,' an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 808, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylae, 1. περὶ δῆμων, 2. περὶ μνημάτων or 'on monuments.' Cf. Plut. Thes. c. 26, Cim. c. 16, Vitt. X Oratt. p. 849, Athenae. xiii c. 60 p. 591 e. Diogen. Laert. iv 2 quotes from the first book of the ἀπομνημονεύματα of Diodorus, but, as there are five Diodoruses mentioned by Athenaeus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

42 1. ὡς ὑπονοῶν, 'as making a surmise.'

2. μέγαν λιμένα] The Peiraeus proper *par excellence*, or largest of the three harbours of the Peiraic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the Greeks themselves *Port Drako*, the other two being Munychia (*Fanari*) and Zea (*Stratitotiki* or *Paschalimini*). Its northern and largest portion called the Emporium was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and

ἡμεῖς Kantharus (Arist. Pax v. 145). ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου, 'from the headland opposite which must have been Eetioneia, or the narrow

tongue of land which projects into the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. viii 90), and towards which the headland called Alkimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χηλαί* 'claws.' It is supposed that Alkimus was the name of the colossal lion of white marble (whence its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A.D. 1687.

3. *πρόκειται*, 'juts out.' *οἶον ἀγκῶν*, 'a sort of elbow,' 'bend.'

4. *κάμψαντι*, *circumvecto*, 'after one has doubled this foreland,' Herod. iv 42 *κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον*, iv 43, vii 122, 193, Arist. Ach. 96 *περὶ ἀκρὰν κάμπτων*, Polyb. i. 25, 8 *κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερῆραν*, 54, 1; i 39, 5 *κάμψαντες τὸ Λιλύβαιον*. For the dative see G. § 184, 5. *ἧ τὸ ὑπέδιον*, sc. *ἐστὶ*, 'where the sea is tolerably calm.'

5. *κρητὶς*, 'foundation,' 'base.' *τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδές*, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.'

6. *οἴεται*, not 'it is thought' (Stewart), but 'he (Diodorus) supposes.'

7. *Πλάτωνα*] one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, who flourished from B.C. 428 to B.C. 389. His *Kleophon* gained the third prize in B.C. 405 when Aristophanes gained the first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τοῦτοις*, 'in the following lines.'

9. *ἐν καλῷ*, = *ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ* (Koraës), *loco opportuno*, 'in a fit site.' Xen. Hell. ii 1, 25 *οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἐφ' αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν*, vi 2, 9 *κείσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου*, or *commode*, 'conveniently' as in Thuc. v 29, 4 *ἐν καλῷ ἐδόκει ἡ μάχη εἶσθαι*.

10. *πρόσρησις*, 'an (object of) greeting.' *πανταχοῦ*, because visible on all sides.

12. *χώπτονται ἀλλήλ' ἧ*, *si quando certamina navalia erunt*, not 'when our fleets are summoned to the fight' (Stewart), but 'whenever there is a boat-race,' which, we know, was a

part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. II N° 1 p. 90 ff. April 1881.

§ 4. 13. τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους=τοῖς ἀπογόνους.

14. φυλαττόμεναι ἦσαν, for ἦσαν αἱ φυλάττονται.

16. ἡμέτερος συνήθης, *noster familiaris*, an adjective used substantively. So in Latin *iniquus*, *invidus*: see my n. to Cic. pro Plancio 1 § 1 l. 6.

17. παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' ὁ Λαμπρεύς, the Peripatetic philosopher of Lamprae in Attica, who was Plutarch's instructor. See Introduction p. xii § 2, quaest. conv. III 1, 2, IX 15. He is mentioned by Ammonius in his treatise περὶ διαφορῶν λεξέων p. 44, as the author of a treatise περὶ θυσιῶν, the full title of which was περὶ βιωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν Athenaeus XI c. 52 p. 476 F, Harpocratio, Fabric. Bibl. Gr. IV c. 26 p. 171.

#### END OF NOTES

## APPENDIX ON THE TEXT





## APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

### A. General Remarks

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The oldest ms of Plutarch, the codex Sangermanensis in the library of St Germain (Sg), was written in the tenth century; it contains only fifteen of the *Parallel Lives*, and that of Themistokles is not one of them. (Madvig *adv. crit.* i p. 88 is mistaken on this point.)

The next most important are those in the National Library of Paris; foremost among which both for its antiquity and the excellence of its readings is the folio which bears the press-mark 1671 and is generally known as A. It was written in A.D. 1296 and originally belonged to the Medici Library at Florence. It contains all the *Parallel Lives*, but not arranged in the usual order, also all the *Moral Works*. There are a few corrections in it of obvious and orthographical errors; while various readings from other mss have been added by a more recent hand. Its readings are generally good in passages where it differs considerably from the other mss (Baehr *praefat. ad Alkib.* p. vi ff.).

The second is that which bears the press-mark 1672 and is known as B. It is a noble folio of 944 pages, beautifully and very clearly written on parchment, without marginal notes or indices. It contains all the *Lives* as well as the *Moralia*, the former in the same order as in A. Wytttenbach (*praef. ad Plut. opp. mor.* 8vo ed. p. lxxii) ascribes it to the 14th century, Bähr (*l. c.* p. viii) to the 16th. It was apparently copied from A, but it has some better readings and some of A's

lacunae filled up. It has been collated by myself after Bähr and Held for the present edition.

No. 1673 (C), a ms of the 13th century, containing the *Lives* only, appears to be derived from a different source from the former. It requires to be used with caution, because many of its readings look like arbitrary emendations of the transcriber, who must have been a competent scholar. The consensus of **A B C** leaves no room for doubt about a reading; where **C** and other mss differ from **A B**, the reading of these latter is to be preferred, unless obviously incapable of explanation: where **C** differs from all the other mss it is very rarely that we can defer to its sole authority, unless in the few instances where the reading of all other mss, especially **A B**, admits of no explanation.

No. 1674 (D) contains the *Lives* only: its readings differ very little from those of **A**, and only where it agrees with **C**. It has also exactly the same abbreviations and the same scholia, so that it must be a transcript either of **A** itself, or of the archetype from which **A** was taken.

No. 1675 (E), written in the 14th or 15th century, contains eighteen of the *Lives* and amongst them that of Themistokles, and about half of the *Moral Works*. Wytttenbach pronounces it to be a copy of either **B** or else some other transcript of the same archetype.

Last, but by no means least in value, is No. 1676 (F), a 4to ms of the 15th century, which I have collated for this edition. It contains twenty-two of the *Lives*; amongst them that of *Themistokles*. Sintenis was not aware of its value, until he had published the three first volumes of his first complete recension of the text of the *Lives* (Leipzig, 8vo. 1839—1843). In the preface to his fourth volume he admits its value and, while giving a complete collation of it, does tardy justice to the memory of Henri Estienne, whom he with others had unjustly condemned for mixing up the ms readings with his own emendations, by confessing his conviction that Stephen must have made more use of this than of any other ms. The ms, however, which is on paper, mostly in beautiful and clear writing, is unfortunately not of equal merit throughout.

In the *Lives* of *Lykurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, *Publicola*, *Themistokles*, *Camillus*, *Aristeides*, *Cato major*, *Fabius*, *Agessilaus*, *Pompeius* it gives the best readings: in the remaining eleven it is not so trustworthy, the writing being inferior and careless.

## EDITIONS

The first Edition of the *Lives* was a collection of the Latin version made by several hands, published at Rome in 2 voll. fol. about the year 1470. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was from the Press of P. Giunta at Florence A.D. 1517; this was followed by one from the Aldine press at Venice A.D. 1519, a second edition of which, containing a purer text, was the basis of Henri Estienne's edition.

The *editio princeps* of the entire works was published at Geneva in 1572 by Henri Estienne, in 13 voll. 8vo. The text of this has always been accepted as the vulgate, being greatly superior to the Aldine and Juntine: but, until lately, its critical merits have been underrated. Reiske (*praef.* t. 1 p. xiv 'haud raro aut coniecturas suas tacite, clam et furtim ingressit aut inventa sua pro lectionibus codicum mustorum venditat, non indicans qui essent illi codices et unde habuisset et ubi prostant,' and again p. xxviii—p. xxx), Wytttenbach (*praef. ad opera moralia* p. cvii—cxiv 'Stephanus multos locos bene correxit, multos perperam mutavit, utrorumque locorum ac fontium diserta significatione omittenda scripturam Plutarcheam dubiam reddidit'), Elmsley (*Edinburgh Review* 1803 'the edition of Henry Stephen abounds with vacant spaces which that editor was unable to fill up and with corruptions so glaring and fatal as to defy the utmost license of conjectural emendation'), Sintenis (*praef. ad vol. 1* 8vo. Lipsiae, 1839 'qui aliquam in Plutarcho posuerunt operam, uno ore confessi sunt omnes, quas Stephanus multis locis adhibuisset correctiones non ex libris petitas, sed ab ipso excogitatas esse, cuius rei argumenta certissima ex ipsarum correctionum indole petere licet cuivis sermonis Plutarchei non plane ignaro') have all spoken in disparaging terms of it. Sintenis however revokes his indiscriminate censure of Stephen

in a later volume and confesses that one advantage he gained by collating the Paris mss was 'ut Henrici Stephani lectiones omnes sive in textum receptas sive in annotationibus commemoratas ex codicibus excerptas, non ab ipso fictas esse luculenter appareret vindicareturque viri summi memoria a malae fidei criminationibus cum ab aliis in eum coniectis tum a me in praefatione voluminis primi repetitis inconsideratus.'

The Paris edition of 1624 is a reimpression of that published at Frankfurt in 1620 (which is itself a reimpression of the preceding ones of 1599 and 1605), but contains in addition Rualdus' life of Plutarch. It has also Crusius' version of the *Lives*, and that of the *Morals* by William Xylander (Professor of Greek at Heidelberg, 1558—1576).

The edition of the *Lives* by Bryan (London, 5 vols. 4to 1728—29), completed by Moses Solanus (du Soul), is formed on the last. It professes to give the various readings of six mss and the notes of all former editors, together with those of Palmer, Dacier and the Editor himself. Reiske says of this edition that it is like other English editions of the classics which 'splendent et oculos feriunt atque arident,' but is not to be relied on, being full of typographical errors, omissions of sometimes one, sometimes more words.

John James Reiske's own edition (Lipsiae 12 vol. 1774—1782) is the second 8vo. publication of all Plutarch. He had access to one ms, but was disabled by impaired eyesight from using it, and so depended on Bryan's collations. He confesses that he had never read the *Lives* of Plutarch until he was on the verge of the grave (*in ora tumuli iam altero pede vacillans*), that he undertook the edition as task-work because of the *res angusta domi*, and finished it in the course of one summer. He describes with great *naïveté* his method of preparing the text for the press. Madame Reiske, his wife, read aloud from the Juntine edition, while he followed her with that of Bryan and noted down any variety of reading. He then re-read carefully his copy of Bryan, and after comparing the Aldine and Juntine readings with those of the Vulgate, selected which he thought best, or else substituted his own conjectural emendations and those of others, and in this state sent

the book to press. No wonder that the book disappointed expectation. Wytttenbach, *præf. ad opp. morr.* p. cxxix, rightly censures his want of judgment and discrimination and the *sensus veri*. He was naturally of an unsettled disposition, and rather anxious to do much than to do well. Instead of thoroughly studying one author, 'vagabatur per omnes; per festinationem omnia arripiebat; sana corrupta, obscura difficilia, corrigere tentabat, mutabat transponebat, demebat addebat de suo; et plane, ut alter Lucilius, in hora sæpe ducentas faciebat correctiones stans pede in uno.'

The edition of the entire works by Hutten (Tubingen 1791—1805, 8vo. in 14 voll.) is a reprint of the text of Reiske with some corrections and emendations. The work was left incomplete, the promised index never having been issued.

The famous and learned Greek Diamant Koraës (Coray) published an edition of the *Lives* with notes (σημειώσεις) in Greek, the first volume forming the third of his 'Ελληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, Paris 1809—1815 in 6 vols. 8vo. This edition because of its engraved portraits has become so rare, that I was assured by the principal Paris booksellers that it would be impossible to obtain one at any price. After giving up the search in despair, I at last found a copy at a Cambridge bookseller's.

George Henry Schaefer did not add to his reputation as a scholar by his edition with original and selected notes, Leipzig, 1820—21 in 9 voll. 8vo. and 1825—30 in 6 voll. 8vo.

It was left for Carl Sintenis to undertake an entire revision of the text of the *Lives* on true critical principles, and to do for them what had already been done by Daniel Wytttenbach, the celebrated Leyden professor, a native of Berne in Switzerland, at the price of 30 years' labour, for the *Moral Works* in his edition printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 14 voll. 8vo. 1795—1830. Sintenis had edited some single lives (*Aristeides* and *Cato maior* 1830, *Themistokles* 1832, *Perikles* 1835, each with Latin notes) before his edition with a complete *lectionum varietas*, but without explanatory notes, appeared at Leipzig in 4 vols. 8vo. 1839—1846. He has since edited single *Lives* for the Haupt-Sauppe series of

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Classics (*Aristeides* and *Cato maior* 1848, *Agis* and *Cleomenes* 1850, *Themistokles* and *Perikles* 1851), with explanatory notes in German.

The edition of the whole works by Fr. Duebner and Doehner, which forms part of Didot's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum*, 5 voll. imp. 8vo, Paris 1841—6, does not possess great critical value, though Duebner professes to have emended Wytenbach's text in more than 2000 instances.

A very useful edition of Select Biographies for school use with German notes has been issued by Otto Siefert and Frederick Blass (1859—1876). The following editions also of separate Lives by various scholars deserve notice:—

*Alcibiades* by J. C. F. Baehr, Heidelberg, 1822, 8vo.

*Philopoemen*, *Flamininus*, *Pyrrhus* by J. C. F. Baehr, 8vo. Leipzig, 1826.

*Aemilius Paulus* and *Timoleon*, by J. C. Held, 8vo. 1832.

*M. Brutus*, by A. S. Voegelin, 8vo. Zurich, 1833.

*Agis* and *Cleomenes*, by G. F. Schoemann, 8vo. Gryphiswald, 1839.

*Phokion*, by F. Kraner, 8vo, Leipzig, 1840.

*Solon*, by A. Westermann, 8vo, Brunswick, 1841.

*Kimón*, by A. Ekker, 8vo, Utrecht, 1843.

The text of the present edition is based upon an independent collation of *F*; the latest edition of Sintenis (Teubner 1877), in which the Editor has shown himself less tolerant of obvious errors<sup>1</sup>, and in which the punctuation has been corrected after that of Immanuel Bekker (B. Tauchnitz, 1869); and that of Blass (8vo. Leipzig, 1872).

Adolph Emperius, 'homo, si vixisset diutius, multum Graecis scriptoribus profuturus, quem in gravibus mendis certa ratione tollendis nemo e recentioribus superavit aut aequavit' (*Madvig*), in his *Opuscula* edited by F. G. Schneidewin (Gotttingen, 8vo, 1847); *Madvig* himself in his *Adversaria* Vol. i p. 565 —p. 677; *Cobet* in his *variae Lectiones*, his *novae Lectiones*, his *Collectanea critica*, and the *Mnemosyne* (nova Series, Vol.

<sup>1</sup> Or, to use the words of *Madvig Adv. Crit.* i p. 565 'a prava mendorum patientia defensioneque ad sanæ rationi parendum et ad Xylandri, Reiskii, Corais inventis utendum progressus factus est non exiguus.'

vi p. 113—p. 173); G. N. Bernardakis in his *Symbolae criticae et palaeographicae in Plutarchi Vitas et Moralia*, Svo Lipsiae, 1879, have each made valuable contributions to the criticism of Plutarch. Cobet thinks that the best MSS are to be found in Italy, and speaks of one of the 10th century containing the first half of the *Lives*, which he examined only cursorily in the Medici Library at Florence.

#### TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIVES

The spirited and justly celebrated French translation by J. Amyot (Paris, 1599), was composed partly from the Latin version of 1470, partly from the Aldine Greek Text and partly from some ms to which the Translator had access. It was from this version and not from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made his famous translation (1579), to Shakespeare's study of which we owe his 'Antony and Cleopatra,' 'Coriolanus' and 'Julius Caesar.'

Dryden's version, as it is commonly called, was made by different hands and is of unequal merit. It was re-edited with corrections by A. H. Clough (1874). More correct than this as a translation, though not exempt from serious misapprehensions of the Greek Text, but inferior to it in style is the version by the two Langhorns. Lastly, Mr Aubrey Stewart, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has published one in 4 vols. (London, 1880—1881), as a complement to the thirteen *Roman Lives* translated by the late George Long.

#### B. Critical Notes

##### ABBREVIATIONS

- Bl = Blass
- Br = Bryan
- Co = Cobet
- Ko = Koraës
- Rk = Reiske
- Sch = Schaeferus
- Si = Sintenis



## CHAPTER II

- 2 § 1. 11. λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, F.  
 14. ἐς δὲ pro ἐση F.  
 § 2. 19. δῆλος ἦν ὑπεροῶν, Bl Si cum F et opt. codd.  
*δῆλος ἦν οὐχ ὑπεροῶν* vulgo, quod mirum esse intellexit Mad-  
 vigius *Adv. Crit.* i p. 88 de puero disciplinarum et artium  
 studioso, sc. οὐχ ὑπεροῶν *non contemnere*, addita praesertim  
 causa, quod naturae confideret, quae ad contemptum tollen-  
 dum nihil valeret, unde coniecit scripsisse Plutarchum *δῆλος*  
*ἦν ὑπεροῶν*.  
 § 3. 23. ἀμύνεσθαι Ko cum F probantibus Si Bl: vulgo.  
*ἀμύνασθαι*.  
 24. ἐπίσταται Si: ἐπίστατο F Bl.  
 3 § 5. 12. μὲν οὖν] οὖν om. F B.  
 § 6. 26. τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ Rk.  
 28. παρορωμένος Si Bl: legebatur *παρωραμένος*, unde  
*παρωσμένος* Co Mnemos. N. S. Vol. vi p. 143 coll. varr.  
 lectt. p. 160.  
 29. φαίνονται F unde *φαίνονται* Si Bl: vulgo *antea γέ-  
 νονται*.

## CHAPTER III

- 4 § 1. 3. κρατῆσαι δι' ἣν Si; κρατῆσαι δι' ἣν Bl.  
 3. καὶ σφόδρα F.  
 5. τὰς om. F.  
 7. πρὸς Ἀριστείδην Co: τὸν Ἀρ. C.  
 8. πορευόμενος Si contra codd.  
 11. καλοῦ] κάλλους F. *Καλού* ex vita Arist. c. 2: Τηίου  
 vulgo, Τίου F.  
 § 3. 28. pro ποτοῖς codex unus τόπους: *Amiotus πόνους*  
 cum vett. aliquot codd.  
 5 § 4. 6. πόρρωθεν ἐτι Bl. cum F; πόρρωθεν ἤδη Si vulgo.

## CHAPTER IV

- § 1. 8. μὲν om. F<sup>a</sup>.  
 16. οἱ νησιῶται Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>; οἱ Αἰγυπτῆται vulgo.  
 § 3. 26. τὰ παῖδά μὲν Si Bl vulgo: τῷ πατρὶ μὲν Co.  
 27. ὁμόρους Br: ὁμοίοις F<sup>a</sup> codd.  
 1. ἑαυτοῦ F<sup>a</sup>.  
 3. ὑπαρέσιον F<sup>a</sup>.  
 4. τῶν Ἀθηναίων Si.  
 § 4. 6. τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸ καθαρὸν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 § 5. 14. Μαρδόνιος F<sup>a</sup>.  
 16. αὐτοῖς vulgo: αὐτοῖς anonymus.

6

## CHAPTER V

- § 1. 17. εἰντονον Bl Si cum F<sup>a</sup>: vulgo εὔτενον.  
 20. ἀφθόνου οὐ F<sup>a</sup> per dittographiam.  
 § 2. 1. παρ' αὐτῷ Bl: παρ' αὐτῷ Si F<sup>a</sup>.  
 2. πρὸς αὐτὸν Si cum F<sup>a</sup>: πρὸς αὐτὸν Bl.  
 § 3. 14. καὶ Φρόνιχος F<sup>a</sup>.  
 § 4. 18. ὥς που Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: ὥστε που Si vulgo.  
 19. κτον ACF<sup>a</sup>: Κείον Xylander.  
 21. ἄν γένοιτο Si Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: ἄν ἐγένετο vulgo.

7

## CHAPTER VI

- § 1. 5. τὸν Εὐφρημίδου δημαγωγόν, ὄντα F<sup>a</sup>.  
 6. τῇ ψυχῇ F<sup>a</sup> Bl; τὴν ψυχὴν Si. Cf. 16, 2, Pericl.  
 III 2.  
 § 2. 19. καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ ut emblemata delet Cobetus l. c.,  
 ne perinepte bis idem dicatur.

8

## CHAPTER VII

- § 1. 2. προκινδυνεύουσύντων Bl S: κινδυνεύουσύντων F<sup>a</sup>.

9

- § 2. 11. ὁμοῦ τι om. F<sup>a</sup> : τι solum om. C.  
 17. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> : διόπερ δοκεῖ Si vulgo.  
 20. ἀνδρεία Si Bl : ἀνδρία F<sup>a</sup>.  
 § 3. 29. ἀλκὴν Si Bl : ἀρχὴν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 10 § 4. 2. πελαγῶντα F<sup>a</sup>.  
 9. τριηρίτας Si e conl. : vulgo πολίτας.  
 13. pro ὑποθεῖς F<sup>a</sup> habet e priore linea εἰσέπεμψεν, non εἰσπεμφθεῖς ut notat Sintenis.  
 16. πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας F<sup>a</sup> Bl ; πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας Si vulgo.

## CHAPTER VIII

- 11 § 2. 3. φάενναν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 4. κρηπίδα F<sup>a</sup>.  
 6. Ἑστιάαν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 7. ἀνταίρα Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> : ἀντιταίρα Si vulgo.  
 8. Φυλοκτήτην F<sup>a</sup>.  
 10. περὶ αὐτὸ F<sup>a</sup> : περὶ αὐτὸν Rk : περὶ αὐτῷ Si.  
 § 3. 15. Ἀσίας F<sup>a</sup> Bl Ko ; Ἀσίης Si vulgo.  
 17. ναυμαχίᾳ Bl e conl. ; ναυμαχίῃ vulgo.

## CHAPTER IX

- § 1. 24. τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας...ἀπαγγελλόντων πυθόμενοι Bl e conl. ; ἀπαγγελλόντων F<sup>a</sup> ; τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπαγγελλόντων πυθόμενοι Si vulgo, quod ita probat Cobetus ut πυθόμενοι tamquam interpolatum deleri velit.  
 12 4. λίθων αὐτῶν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 5. ναυλόχια F<sup>a</sup> Bl ; ναύλοχα Si vulgo.  
 11. συνταράξαι F<sup>a</sup>.  
 12. τοὺς βαρβάρους Bl e conl. Heldii : τοῖς βαρβάρους F<sup>a</sup> Si vulgo.  
 17. θάλασσαν F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 3. 24. μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν F<sup>a</sup> Bl; μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ Si vulgo.

25. οὐδὲ διανοοῦντο *ne cogitabant quidem* Co.

27. ἐμβῆναι Ko cum codd. nonnullis; ἐμφῆναι Bl Si. οἱ πολλοὶ Bl Si Rk: ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ F<sup>a</sup> vulgo.

29. θεῶν τε] θεῶν F<sup>a</sup>. ἡρώα] ἡρώα F<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER X

§ 1. 6. ἀφανὴς δὲ F<sup>a</sup>, unde Blassius suspicatur excidisse 13 nonnulla, ex Herodoto viii 41 supplenda: λέγονσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκδιαιτῶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

10. λόγον διαδόντος Co e conl.

11. θάλασσαν F<sup>a</sup>.

14. οὐδὲ] οὔτε F<sup>a</sup>. ἀνακαλεῖν F<sup>a</sup> Bl; καλεῖν Si vulgo.

18. Ἀθηνέων e conl. Bl; male Sintenis Ἀθηναίων; Ἀθηναίων vulgo: Ἀθηνά τῇ a secunda manu F<sup>a</sup> unde suspicor legendum καταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνέων μεδεόσῃ. Cf. Arist. Eq. 763.

§ 3. 23. γονέας καὶ γυναῖκας] 'cur parentes, quos multi superstites non habebant, nominantur, omissis liberis quorum aetatis proxima cura erat? Videtur scribendum γονεάς, quae vox etsi (inde a Polybio) de uxoribus liberisque dicatur, tamen maxime ad liberos spectat (γονεάς ἔχαιν Polyb. xi 6).' Madvig *Adv.* i p. 572.

§ 3. 29. pro δημοσίων quod vulgatur ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ in aerario scribendum censet Cobetus: χρήματα enim δημόσια esse quae aerario debeantur, praesertim ex bonis publicatis.

§ 3. 2. ὁκτὼ δραχμας post πορίσασαν transposuit Si 14 praeter necessitatem.

6. τὸν Γοργόνειον F<sup>a</sup>; quod si servetur, Reiskius monet subaudiendum esse ὀμφαλόν, *umbonem in scuto*; ad τὸ Γοργόνειον autem τὸ πρόσωπον.

§ 5. 18. γονεάς Sintenis e conl. et sic F<sup>a</sup>: legebatur γονέας.

15. δάκρυα γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων περιβολάς Ko.  
 16. πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ διὰ B1 cum F<sup>a</sup>; πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ Si vulgo.  
 26. καὶ καλοῦμενον ἄχρι νῦν F<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER XI

- § 1. 28. καὶ ὅτι Ko.  
 15 § 1. 4. ἐπὶ χρόνον Co.  
 § 2. 8. παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον Co.  
 9. ἀπαίρειν Co.  
 16. ἐπαιρομένου F<sup>a</sup>.  
 20. ἀνήγεν αὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον *redit ad orationem* aut ἀνήγεν αὐτὸς κτλ. *legendum censet* Madvig.  
 § 3. 22. διδάσκει F<sup>a</sup> B1; διδάσκει Si. ἐγκαταλείπειν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 28. τριακόσιαι F<sup>a</sup>. νῦν μὲν ἡμῖν ΔF<sup>a</sup>.  
 16 § 4. 5. ἀπολείποντες οἰχόνται F<sup>a</sup> Si; ἀπολιπόντες οἰχόνται B1.

## CHAPTER XII

- § 1. 12. ἄνωθεν in marginem relegandum esse censet Cobetus.  
 16. παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες Cobetus.  
 27. τοῦ τόπου: τῶν τόπων F<sup>a</sup>. τῶν στενωπῶν ΔC vulgo: τῶν στενῶν *coniecturam* Reiskii praestat F<sup>a</sup>.  
 29. ἐβούλετο F<sup>a</sup>.  
 17 § 2. 7. φυγὴν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 10. 'inauditum τέλος ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τινα *de imperando et decreto mittendo*. *Scribendum videtur: δελτους εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε tabellas et tesseras circummisit.*' Madvig. The expression is certainly unusual, but is paralleled by a passage from Coriol. quoted in explanatory note. Some suspicion however is thrown on the genuineness of the expression by the fact of the words  
 [redacted] and τέλος being omitted in F<sup>a</sup>.

13. περιβάλλεσθαι F<sup>a</sup>.  
 29. Τηνία Palmer : Τενεδία F<sup>a</sup> codd.

## CHAPTER XIII

- § 1. 5. τὸν Ἡράκλειον F<sup>a</sup>. 18  
 § 2. 16. Σανδαύκης F<sup>a</sup>.  
 21. καθιερώσαι F<sup>a</sup> codd., καθιερεύσαι Si coll. Arist. c. 9.  
 1. τελεσθῆναι F<sup>a</sup>. 19  
 6. τραφεδία ut emblemata delet Cobetus V. L. p. 371.

## CHAPTER XIV

- § 1. 8. Ξέρξης—χιλίας νεῶν ἤγε πλῆθος F<sup>a</sup>, ὑπέρκομποι τάχως F<sup>a</sup>.  
 § 2. 12. ἀπὸ καταστροφῆματος ACF<sup>a</sup> recte, ut opinor.  
 15. συνιδῶν] εἰδῶς F<sup>a</sup>.  
 18. δὲ ἐκ πελάγους F<sup>a</sup>.  
 20. τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς μὲν F<sup>a</sup>.—ἀτιναίς CF<sup>a</sup> : ἀλιταίς Br.  
 26. ὅτι τ' ἦν (δτ' ἦν F<sup>a</sup>) κατ' ἐκείνον...καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> ; καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνον...ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τ. Si.  
 28. ἐτοξεύετο, non, ut Si notat, ἐτόξευσε F<sup>a</sup>.  
 30. τε om. F<sup>a</sup>.  
 § 3. 2. Παιανίης Bl e conji., Πεδιίης v. Πελιίης F<sup>a</sup>, 20 Παιραιίης olim conji. Si.  
 4. αὐτῶν Bl : αὐτῶν Si.

## CHAPTER XV

- § 1. 16. φάντασματα Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> : φάσματα Si.  
 18. ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀνατιναίς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων Bl e conji. ; ἀνατιναίς τὰς χ. ἐπεχόντων F<sup>a</sup> ; ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων Si vulgo.  
 27. ὥσπερ εἶρηκε F<sup>a</sup>.  
 29. ἐνάλιον] ἐν ἄλλο F<sup>a</sup>.

30. ἀνδρία F<sup>a</sup>.21 2. τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>; Θεμιστοκλέους Si.

## CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. 18. ἐάν F<sup>a</sup>.§ 2. 27. ἐπεπε F<sup>a</sup>.29. ὀνόματι Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: ὄνομα Si. Vide ad 6, 1.22 § 3. 4. αὐτοῦ F<sup>a</sup>.

11. Πλαταιεύσιν AB vulgo; Πλαταιαῖσιν correxit Koraüs.

## CHAPTER XVII

§ 2. 21. ἀνδρίας F<sup>a</sup>.23. πρῶτον F<sup>a</sup>.24—5. καί—συνεξέπεψαν om. F<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER XVIII

23 § 1. 3. φιλοτιμώτατος F<sup>a</sup>.—δεῖ δὲ F<sup>a</sup>.7. ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο F<sup>a</sup>: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἀνεβάλλετο Si.13. περικείμενα GF<sup>a</sup>.§ 2. 19. ἀμφότεροι δ' ὁμοῦ Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: ἀμφότεροι δ' ἅμα Si.24 § 3. 2. ὑστέραν F<sup>a</sup>.§ 4. τῷ δὲ νιῷ ἐντροφώσης τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δι' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ F<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. 28. ἐκάλειπεν F<sup>a</sup>.25 § 3. 14. τὸν ante Ποσειδῶνα om. F<sup>a</sup>.15. ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς F<sup>a</sup>.16. ὥσπερ—φησὶ Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: ὥς—λέγει Si.17. προσέμιξεν F<sup>a</sup> vulgo: προσέμαζεν Xy.18. eis pro καὶ habet F<sup>a</sup>.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. 28. δυνάμει διενοήθη F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 1. 4. μόνῃ φράσαι vulgo: φράσαι μόνῃ cum uno codice 26  
Si.

8. προελθὼν Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>; παρελθὼν Si.

§ 2. 14. ἀπέρχονται F<sup>a</sup>.

20. πυθαγόρων F<sup>a</sup>.

22. πλείστοι F<sup>a</sup>.

27. προήγοντο F<sup>a</sup>: aut προήγον *altius atque altius prove-*  
*hebant cum C*, aut προσήγοντο *ad se propius adducebant, sibi*  
*artius devinciebant legendum censet Rk.*

CHAPTER XXI

§ 2. 14. ἀλλ' εἰ τό γε Ξάνθ. πον αἰνέσαις F<sup>a</sup> ceteris 27  
omissis.

15. Ἀριστείδην] ΔΟΓ<sup>a</sup>.

17. ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῶστον] δεῖ ἦλθε λεκτὸς ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέα  
δ' ἤχθαιρε F<sup>a</sup>.

20. ἀργυροῖσι cum codd. Bl: ἀργυροῖς Si cum Her-  
manno. κυβαλικοῖσι Bl cum Bergkio; κυμβαλικοῖσι F<sup>a</sup>; σκυ-  
βαλικοῖσι vulgo; σκυβαλικοῖσι Si cum Hermanno. βασιλι-  
κοῖσι Ko (Vol. 6 p. 479). κατὰγαγ' Bl; κατήγαγεν F<sup>a</sup>; κατᾶγεν Si  
vulgo. πατρὶδ' Bl: πατρίδα vulgo; πάτραν Si cum Hermanno.

21. ἐπ' ὀλεθρον F<sup>a</sup>.

24. διώκων F<sup>a</sup>.

26. ἀργυρίου δὲ ὑπόπλευς F<sup>a</sup>. δὲ πανδόκειν γλοιῶς...παρ-  
εῖχεν Bl ex Hermanni conl.; δ' ἐπανδόκειν γελοῶς...παρέχων  
Si vulgo.

28. μὴ ἄρας Θεμιστοκλῆ' ἰκέσθαι Blaydes ad Aristoph.  
Lysistr. v 391.

§ 3. 30. βλασφημία κέχρηται F<sup>a</sup>.

2. ἡ ἀρχὴ F<sup>a</sup>.

8. τοῦδε μέλεος F<sup>a</sup>.



6. λέγεται δ' Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων Si vulgo.  
 9. μόνους Bl Si: μόνος Ahrens; μόνους δε G. Hermann.  
 10. ὀρκιατόμα Bergk Bl; ὀρκιατομαί Si; ὄρκια τομή F<sup>a</sup>.  
 12. κοῖκ Bl cum Hermanno: οἶκ Si vulgo.

## CHAPTER XXII

- § 1. 17. μνημονευομένων F<sup>a</sup>.  
 18. εἰπὼν Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>: εἶπεν vulgo Si.  
 29 § 2. 8. καλοῦντες F<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER XXIII

- § 1. 15. Δεωβώτης Bl Co. 'Αλκμείωνος Cobet: 'Αλκμαί-  
 ονος Bl vulgo.  
 16. 'Αγρυλῆθεν Bl Co: 'Αγρυλῆθεν Si vulgo.  
 § 2. 20. πολιτείας vulgo: πόλεως Cobet coll. v 11.  
 21. ἐθαρήσεν F<sup>a</sup>.  
 22. γράμματα Bl cum F<sup>a</sup>; τὰ γράμματα Si.  
 25. ἀπετρέψατο F<sup>a</sup>.  
 27. πρὸς οὐδένα τοὺς λόγους διὰ F<sup>a</sup>.  
 30 § 3. 8. ἔγραψεν, ὡς ἄρχαν μὲν αἰεὶ F<sup>a</sup> vulgo: ἔγραψεν  
 primus tollendum vidit Madvigius, 'ut haec omnia sint The-  
 mistoclis διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου. Defendebat enim  
 se, cui hoc ipsum obiceretur, quod imperio parere nesciret,  
 non fuisse se Graeciamque domino barbaro venditurum.'  
 10. βαρβάρους αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίους F<sup>a</sup>: βαρβάρους καὶ  
 πολεμίους αὐτὸν Si vulgo.  
 13. ἀνάγειν Br Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> G; ἐνάγειν vulgo libri: ἄγειν  
 Ko Si.

## CHAPTER XXIV

- 31 § 3. 21. ἀποτρυφάμενον cum F<sup>a</sup> Bl; ἀποστρυφάμενον  
 Si vulgo.

## CHAPTER XXV

§ 1. 27—9. πολυτελῶς—σκήνην om. F<sup>a</sup>.

80. καὶ πλεῦσαι φησιν αὐτόν Bl e Benseleri conl. : φησὶ καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτόν Si vulgo : φησὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι Madvig.

4. Θάσσον (sic) F<sup>a</sup>.

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## CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. 20. παραφυλάττοντας αὐτόν λαβεῖν Bl vulgo : παραφυλάττοντας αὐτόν Cobet coll. Timoleon c. 19 διδόντες τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις αἱ παρεφύλαττον αὐτούς, sed tu cf. Eumen. c. 13, 6 αὐτόν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς.

3. μέτρῳ Si.

5. κατακοιμηθεὶς F<sup>a</sup>.

10. κηρυκίου F<sup>a</sup>.

14. τοιόνδε F<sup>a</sup> : τοιοῦτον Si.

21. σκηναῖς Bl post Madvigium, ipsae enim feminae erant περιπεφραγμέναι : σκηναῖς F<sup>a</sup> vulgo.

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## CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. 1. Εὐφορος F<sup>a</sup>.

3. τὸν om. F<sup>a</sup>.

6. συντεταγμένοις Bl : συνταττομένοις Si : καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς—συντεταγμένος F<sup>a</sup>.

10. περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων Bl cum F<sup>a</sup> : περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων Si vulgo.

18. τοῦ πάντα F<sup>a</sup>.

24. ἐγὼ F<sup>a</sup>.

29. ἴσται F<sup>a</sup>.

1. σε om. F<sup>a</sup>.

2. οὐκ ἂν F<sup>a</sup>.

3. Ἀρτάβανι om. F<sup>a</sup>.

6. αἰρετικῆς F<sup>a</sup>.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII

- § 1. 12. εἰπείν F.  
 16. γεγενημένης F: γενομένης Si.  
 17. τὰ οἰκεία F: τὰ οἰκοί Si.  
 36 § 3. 4. τοὺς om. F.  
 10. ἐκβοῆσαι F.

## CHAPTER XXIX

- § 1. 12. ἀμα] μία F.  
 13. οὐδὲν ἀπίζοντα F.  
 14. ἐπὶ θύραις ἑγγὺς F: ἐπὶ θύραις Si vulgo.  
 15. παρίοντος Bl e conl.; παρόντος Si vulgo.  
 23. διακόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειαν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ F.  
 37 § 2. 10. ἐν om. F.  
 § 3. 12. οὐδὲ γὰρ F Bl; οὐδὲν γὰρ Si.  
 38 § 4. 1. πρὸς ἑκαστον Rk e conl.; ἑκαστον F vulgo.  
 4. τότε F.

## CHAPTER XXX

17. κώμη Bl cum F; πόλις Si vulgo.  
 29. ἐκπίσαντες F, quam lectionem nemo antea memoravit: ἐκπετάσαντες Si Bl vulgo.

## CHAPTER XXXI

- 39 § 1. 12. εἶδε καὶ Bl vulgo, ἐν δὲ καὶ Rk e conl., εἶδε δὲ Koraēs Si, εἶδε δὲ καὶ ipse scripsi e conl.  
 40 § 3. 8. ἐπέτρεψεν F, quod praetulit Reiskius, eo sensu quo postmodum creberrime fuit usurpatum a scriptoribus declinantis graecitatis, sc. adhortandi, impellendi, instigandi. ἐπέστρεψαν Ko.  
 9. κολύειν vulgo: κολουέν Bl e conl.  
 17. ἄλλους τε] ἄλλως τε Rk, 'cum aliis de causis, tum quod excellentes tum essent imperatores.'  
 28. καὶ ἡγεμονίαις om. F.

## CHAPTER XXXII

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§ 1. 4. τοῦ] τῆς F<sup>a</sup>.5. κλεόφατον F<sup>a</sup>.11. μνασιπτολέμην F<sup>b</sup>.14. Νικόδημος F<sup>a</sup>.§ 2. 21. ἐν om. F<sup>a</sup>.

25. ἀ...πάθος, οὐδ' ἂν Bl e conl.; δ (δ F<sup>a</sup>) τε Φυλ.—πάθος,  
δ οὐδ' ἂν vulgo.

§ 3. 5. τῆς κρηπῆς F<sup>a</sup>. τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Koraës Bl; τὸ περι  
αὐτήν Si vulgo. 42

11. ἐκπλέοντας τοὺς τ' εἰσπλέοντας F<sup>a</sup>; οὗς ἐκπλέοντας  
τ' Bekkerus.

12. ἀμὺλλ' ἢ post Porsonum Cobetus et Meineke: ἀμύλλαι  
(sc. ὥς vel γίνωνται) Rk; ἀμύλλα Si vulgo.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 83, c. viii § 2, l. 1, 2, for 'comprehended' read 'was aware of.'

P. 97, c. xi § 2, l. 14. *ῥαβδίζουσι*, = *ῥαβδίζουσι* 'strike with a rod.' In Plutarch's time this word had come to signify 'to strike with the palm of the hand,' as is proved by the Rev. Dr F. Field p. 71 *Notes on select passages of the Greek Testament*, Oxford, 8vo, 1881, where he doubts whether any instance can be found later than Herodotus of its older meaning = *ῥαβδίσειν*. The passage in which it occurs is an anecdote from Herodotus, which will account for the use of the verb in this sense.

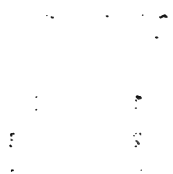
P. 135, c. xxi § 2, l. 14. Cf. St Paul, Romans xiv 10, *σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις...ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς*;

P. 139, c. xxii § 2, l. 26. *τῶν ἀπαγχονίων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων*. Dr Frederic Field understands this to mean 'of those who have hanged themselves and been taken down,' rather than 'such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death.' (Langhorne).

P. 143, c. xxiii § 3, l. 13. To the examples of this use of *ἀνάγειν* add St Luke, Gospel, xxii 66 *καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐαυτῶν*, quoted by Dr Field l. c. p. 57, which that eminent veteran scholar properly translates 'they brought him up before their council,' comparing Acts xii 4; 2 Macc. vi 10, *δύο γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνήχθησαν* (for having circumcised their children), Lucian, ver. hist. ii 6 *ἀναχθέντες ὡς τὸν βασιλέα*, Appian Bell. Civ. i. 60 *καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποῦναι κτελεῖν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους*. The Revisers, following Tischendorf and Hort-Westcott, have adopted the less difficult reading *ἀπήγαγον*, *abduzerunt*, 'they led him away.'

## INDICES

- 1 GREEK
- 2 MATTERS
- 3 AUTHOES



## INDEX I GREEK.

*N.B. The first of the two figures (in larger type) denotes the chapter, the second (in smaller type) the section in which the note occurs*

### Α

- ἀγαθὸς πρὸς πόλεμον γενέσθαι 7 2  
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 αἰτῖαν ἔχειν 'to be blamed' 21 3; αἰτ. ἐπιφέρειν τινι 31 1  
 αἰτιώτατος 7 2; 10 3  
 αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ ἀναθήματος 31 1  
 ἀκαμπτos 10 5  
 ἀκμάζειν 'to be at the height' 24 2; ἀκμάζει πόλεμος 4 1  
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 ἀλειπτῆς 'a teacher' 1 3; 3 4  
 ἀλείφειν ἑαυτὸν 3 4; ἀλείφεσθαι 'to train' 1 2  
 ἀλιτενῆς 14 2 [ἀλιτενῆς λέγεται ναὺς, νῆσος, ἄκρα ἢ πέτρα, ἢ οὕτω ταπεινῇ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σχέδον εὐθείας ἐκτείνεσθαι τῇ ἀλὶ Κοραῆς]  
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 ἀμήχανον δέσμα 26 2  
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 ἀνακομίζεσθαι 9 1  
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   eis βορέαν πατεν (de loco aper-  
   to) 8 2; ἀναπεπταμένη βλασ-  
   φημία προτενους, 21 3  
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   στόματος λέγειν 5 4; ἀπὸ  
   τόχης 9 1; ἀπὸ τίνος γίνεσθαι  
   2 1, 19 1; ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου

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   12 2  
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   toritate *filium abdicare*)  
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   hind anyone' 11 2  
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   2, 24 3  
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   modo *aliove consilio quam*  
   quo vel *propositum vel veri*  
   simile *esse videbatur* 4 2,  
   28 2; cf. *Timol. c. 16, 2*  
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## B

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 βάρβαροι παῖδες 8 1  
 βαρὺς 'oppressive' 22 2  
 βασιλεὺς 'the king of Persia,'  
 without the article, 7 1, 12  
 2; 28 1, 29 1, 31 3; with  
 the article, 23 2, 26 1, 28 1,  
 29 2, 29 3, 29 4; βασιλεὺς  
 εἰκὼν τοῦ 27 2  
 βεβαιοῦν ὑπόσχεσιν 31 3  
 βῆμα, τὸ 19 3  
 βιά 21 1  
 βλέπτειν 14 2  
 βρόχος 22 1

βωμός: ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆ-  
 φον φέρειν 17 1  
 βωμοεῖδης 32 3

## Γ

γὰρ 11 1  
 γενεαί *de uxoribus et liberis*  
 'families' 10 5  
 γενέσθαι ἐν 'to arrive at' 30 1  
 γένος: οἱ ἀπὸ γένους 32 4; τὰ  
 ἐκ γένους 1 1  
 γέφυραν ἀναιρεῖν 16 2; γ. λύειν  
 16 2  
 γίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος 2 1, 19 1  
 γλαυξ 12 1  
 γλισχροτής 5 1  
 γλοιῶς (?) 21 2 *ex Timocreon*  
*Rhodio*  
 γλυκυθυμία 10 5  
 γλωττα, ἡ Περσὶς 29 2  
 γνώμην ποιέσθαι 16 1  
 γνωρίζειν 14 3  
 Γοργόνειον, τὸ 10 4  
 γράμματα 'an inscription' 9 1,  
 23 2  
 γράφειν ψήφισμα 10 2, 11 1;  
 γράφεσθαι 'to accuse' 23 1  
 γύναιον 26 3  
 γυναικωνίτις, ἡ 'the harem' 31  
 2

## Δ

δαφνηφορεῖν 15 1  
 δὲ in apodosis 21 2; δ' οὖν  
 resumptive 26 2, 27 1, 28 1  
 δεινὸς εἰπεῖν 6 1  
 δεινότης 15 2; δ. πολιτικὴ 2 4  
 δεξιὸς 12 1, 13 2  
 δεξιόσθαι 13 2, 31 4  
 δέχεσθαι 12 2  
 δῆ 8 2, 23 2  
 δῆλος, with participle, 24 2  
 δημαγωγεῖν τινα 10 1  
 δημαγωγός 2 6  
 δῆμιος 22 1  
 δημόσιος: δημοσίᾳ *publico eumpe-*  
*tu* 10 3; δημόσιον, τό, *aera-*

rium 25 2; δημόσια χρήματα  
 10 3  
 διὰ ψήφισματος 6 2  
 διὰ used when one thing is  
 pitted against another 5 2  
 διαβεβαιούσθαι 14 1  
 διαβοᾶσθαι 3 3  
 διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέχειν  
 4 3  
 διάβροχος 80 2  
 διαγωνίζεσθαι 16 3  
 διαδίδοναι λόγον *rumorem dis-*  
*trare* 19 2  
 διαδοχή: ἐκ διαδοχῆς 2 4  
 διαζωννύει: διαζώσαι 12 2  
 δαιτᾶσθαι 26 3  
 διακούειν: διακούσαι 2 3, 29 3  
 διαλλάσσειν 6 2, 29 4  
 διαλύεσθαι 12 1  
 διαμιλλᾶσθαι 5 2  
 διανέμεσθαι 4 1  
 διαπέμπειν 31 3  
 διαπέτεσθαι cum gen. 12 1  
 διαπράττεσθαι 21 2  
 διαρρήπτειν 32 2  
 διαταράσσεσθαι 30 1  
 διατειχίζειν 9 2  
 διατελεῖν 8 2, 31 4  
 διατιθέναι 24 3  
 διατριβή 'waste of time' 19 1;  
 διατριβὰς ἐμποικεῖν 16 3; δια-  
 τριβαί 'pursuits and haunts'  
 5 3; αἱ οἰκοὶ διατριβαί 29 3  
 διαφέρεισθαι *iactari* 'to be toss-  
 ed about' 14 3  
 διαφορὰν ἔχειν πρὸς τινα 24 1  
 διαχειμάζειν 20 1  
 διγλωττος 6 1  
 δίδοναι λέγειν 29 1  
 διηγήματα πλάττειν 2 6  
 δικανικὰ τέχνηα 2 4  
 διὸ καὶ 7 2, 10 2  
 δοκεῖν *videri*, de somniorum  
*visis* 15 1, 26 2; 'to be  
 thought' 26 1  
 δοκιμάζειν 'to approve' 20 1  
 ὅ οὐδ' 'be that as it may' re-  
 sumptive, 26 2, 27 1, 28 1

δούρειος Ίππος 5 1  
 δραστήριος σύνεσις 2 4  
 δύναμαι: πλείστον τῶν 'Ελλή-  
 νων δύνασθαι 18 4  
 δυνάμεις κινεῖν 31 3  
 δυσχεραίνειν 16 1, 22 1

## E

οὐκ εἶν *vetare* 3 4  
 ἐγγράφειν εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους 6 2  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 19 1  
 ἐγκλημα ξυγγενικὸν 5 1  
 ἐγχαράττειν κατὰ τῶν λίθων 9 1  
 ἔθος ἔχειν 4 1  
 εἰ δέ τεκμαίρεσθαι 17 2  
 εἰ after verbs of indignation  
 12 1, 20 2  
 εἰκασία 29 2  
 ἐκόνιον 22 2  
 εἰπεῖν 'to move a resolution'  
 6 2  
 εἰς χεῖρας ἵνα *manus conserere*  
 8 1; εἰς in, 'on,' 'concern-  
 ing' 21 3; 'in respect of'  
 2 2, 26 2  
 εἰς with superlatives 21 2  
 εἰσασθαι 21 1  
 εἰσελαύνω 29 3  
 εισηγεῖσθαι ὅπως 'to propose  
 that' 20 2  
 ἐκ 'after': εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς 3 1;  
 ἐκ θυσίας 26 1, ἐκ τούτου  
 4 3, 19 2; 'in consequence  
 of' ἐκ τούτου 20 2; ἐκ τῶν  
 χρημάτων 'with the money'  
 4 1; ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιέσθαι  
 31 1; ἐκ διαδοχῆς 2 4  
 ἐκλιπαρεῖν 5 2  
 ἐκπαλαί 30 1  
 ἐκπεπλήχθαι v. s. ἐκπλήσσεσθαι  
 ἐκπετάννυμι τὴν πτέρυγα 30 2  
 ἐκπίπτειν 'to be cast ashore'  
 10 5, 18 1; ἐκπίπτειν τῆς  
 πολιτείας 23 2  
 ἐκπλήσσεσθαι: ἐκπληγῆναι τι  
 7 3, 13 2; ἐκπεπλήχθαι τὸν  
 κίνδυνον 6 1

- ἐκρέω with gen.: ἐξερρήσαν  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων 12 1  
 ἑσπονος 20 2  
 ἐκοτῆναι v. s. ἐξιστάναι  
 ἐκτείνειν λόγον 12 2; ἐκ. στρώ-  
 ματα )( συστέλλειν 29 2  
 ἐκτός, οἱ 26 3, 29 2  
 ἐκφέρειν *efferte mortuum* 22 1;  
 ἐκφέρειν τι πρὸς τινα *vulgate*  
 23 2; ἐκφέρειν τέλος (?) 12  
 2  
 ἐκφρων 26 1  
 ἐλεγείον 8 2  
 ἔλεον ἔχειν 10 5  
 ἐλεύθερος 2 2  
 ἔλυσιν ὁθεν 15 1  
 Ἑλλην adj. 29 1  
 ἐμβάλλειν τινα εἰς ὑποψίαν 23  
 3; ἐμβάλλειν χρόνον τινί 19 1  
 ἐμπέττειν εἰς τινα 'to devolve  
 upon one' 6 1  
 ἐμποδῶν τοῖς λόγοις 27 2  
 ἐμποεῖν διατριβὰς 16 3 (cf.  
 Demosth. p. 129, 14; 892,  
 17; 651, 26; 944, 9; 1432,  
 25)  
 ἐμφράττειν 16 1  
 ἐμφύναι ταῖς νουσίαι 9 3  
 ἐν Νικογένους 'in the house  
 of' 28 2; ἐν τούτῳ 'in the  
 meanwhile' 12 2, 15 1; ἐν  
 τῷ δήμῳ 22 1  
 ἐνάλιον ἔργον 15 2  
 ἐναντίος: τὴν ἐναντίαν 8 1,  
 τοῦναντίον 2 6  
 ἐναρμόττειν τινί 5 4  
 ἐνδείξασθαι 31 1  
 ἐνέχεσθαι νοθεία 1 2; αἱ νῆες  
 ἐνεσχέθησαν 14 3  
 ἐνθα δὴ 12 1  
 ἐνίστασθαι 7 1; πρὸς τι 8 2  
 ἐνοια 11 4  
 ἐντευξίς 27 1  
 ἐντί *dorice pro εἰσι* 21 3  
 ἐντροφᾶν, of a spoiled child,  
 18 4  
 ἐντυγχάνειν 'to have an in-  
 terview with' 29 2; ἐντυχεῖν  
 τινί περί τινος 27 1; οἱ ἐντυ-  
 χάνοντες 26 3  
 ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐπαίρεσθαι  
 5 3  
 ἐξαγγέλλειν 10 1  
 ἐξαίρειν 26 2  
 ἐξάπτειν τί τινος 19 3  
 ἐξάπτεσθαι (i. q. ἀπτεσθαι) τῶν  
 Ἑλληνικῶν 31 3  
 ἐξαρτᾶν τι τινος 2 6  
 ἐξερρήσαν v. s. ἐκρέω  
 ἐξιστάναι: ἐκοτῆναι τῆς στρα-  
 τηγίας 6 1; ἐξιστασθαι πρὸς  
 τὸ χεῖρον 'φο degenerate' 2  
 5  
 ἐξοστρακίζειν 11 1; ἐξοστρα-  
 κισμένοις 12 1; ἐξοστρακι-  
 σθέντα 5 4  
 ἐξοστρακισμός 22 2  
 ἐξωνεῖσθαι χρήμασι τὴν φιλο-  
 τιμίαν 6 1  
 ἔοικε *fertur* 8 2  
 εὐκοῖος 21 3  
 ἐπάγειν τινί τι 10 1  
 ἐπαίρεσθαι βακτηρίαν 11 3; ἐπ-  
 αῖρεσθαι παρ' ἀξίαν 5 3; ἐπαρ-  
 θεῖς 31 3  
 ἐπακτός στρατός 16 1  
 ἐπ-αναβάλλεσθαι 18 1  
 ἐπ-αν-ορθοῦσθαι 16 2  
 ἐπαχθής τινι 21 1  
 ἐπὶ τινος 'in the case of' 8 2;  
 22 2; 'in the time of' 29 4;  
 ἐφ' ἡσυχίας 16 2; ἐπὶ τινί  
 'because of' 2 6, 7 3, 24  
 3; ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φονεῖν 21 3;  
 ἐπὶ (after) πᾶσι τετάχθαι 9  
 1; 'at the mercy of' 20 2;  
 'on condition of,' ἐπὶ χρή-  
 μασι 21 2; ἐπὶ χρόνῳ 11 1;  
 ἐπ' ἀμφότερα 2 5; ἐπὶ πολλὰ  
 κινεῖν τινα 3 2  
 ἐπιγράφεσθαι ὄνομα 19 1  
 ἐπιδεικνύμαι 2 6, 17 2  
 ἐπίδοξος, 'expected' not 'ex-  
 pecting' 6 1  
 ἐπικεύς 18 4  
 ἐπιέναι ὁδῶν 12 3

ἐπιθεῖν 28 2  
 ἐπιτηρώττειν τινι οὐ ἐπὶ τινι 26  
 1; ἐπιπροχθῆν 29 1  
 ἐπικλᾶν 10 5 [cf. Plat. Phaed.  
 c. 66 p. 117 D οὐδένα ὄντινα  
 οὐ κατέκλασε τῶν παρόν-  
 των]  
 ἐπικρατεῖν 20 1  
 ἐπιπίπτειν τινι 30 2  
 ἐπισείειν τινι τι intentare ali-  
 quid quod terrorem ei incu-  
 tiat 4 2  
 ἐπίσημον 8 1  
 ἐπισκευάζειν 1 3  
 ἐπισκήπτειν 9 1  
 ἐπιστάτης ὕδατων 31 1  
 ἐπιστρέφειν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τινα  
 11 3; ἐπιστρέφειν τινα seq.  
 infin. 31 3  
 ἐπιτηδῆς 19 1  
 ἐπιτηδευμα ποιεῖσθαι 2 4  
 ἐπιτινῆναι: ἐπιτεῖναι τῷ βίῳ  
 τὴν τελευτήν πρέπουσαν 31  
 4  
 ἐπιτρέπειν instigare 31 3  
 ἐπιφάνεια θεοῦ 30 2  
 ἐπιφανής )( ἀφανής, nobilis, il-  
 lustris loco natus (Pyrrh. 5,  
 14, 34, Cam. 15, Pomp. 14,  
 Lycurg. 31, Arist. 9, 19)  
 1 1; 5 2; ἐπιφανῆ γράμ-  
 ματα 'a conspicuous in-  
 scription' 9 1  
 ἐπιφέρειν αἰτίαν τινι 31 1  
 ἐπιφέρεισθαι 14 2  
 ἐραστῆς πράξεων μεγάλων 3 3  
 ἐρίζειν περὶ τινος 14 2  
 ἐρμηνεύς 28 1  
 ἔστι 'it is possible' 27 2  
 ἔτι 'besides' 10 3, 29 1  
 εὐ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τινος 22 1; εὐ  
 γέγονεν 1 2  
 εὐδία 18 2  
 εὐήμερον 31 4  
 εὐμενῶς διαλλάττεσθαι 28 1  
 εὐπορεῖν ἐφοδίων 10 4  
 εὐφύια τῶν λυμένων 19 2  
 ἐφήμερον φάρμακον 31 4

ἐφίμαι 3 1  
 ἐφικτός 31 3  
 ἔχειν αἰτίαν 21 3; δόξαν 18 2;  
 ἔθος 4 1; ἔλεον 10 5; πίστιν  
 12 3; σπουδὴν 5 3; φθόνον  
 29 2; φιλοτιμίαν 5 3; ὁμοίως  
 2 6; δυσπαραιτήτως 29 4;  
 ὀργὴ ἔχει τινα 9 2; ἐννοια καὶ  
 δέος ἔσχευ αὐτοὺς 11 4; ἔχων  
 'with' 14 2  
 ἐχθραν λύειν 24 1

## Z

ζηλωτής 2 4  
 (ἐκ) ζημίας 31 1

## H

ἦ καὶ 4 2  
 ἡθοποιός 2 2  
 ἡλικία: οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 10 2; παρ'  
 ἡλικίαν 2 2  
 ἡμέρα μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4  
 ἡμερον 9 3  
 ἡρωϊκός 22 2  
 ἡττων χρημάτων 6 1

## Θ

θανάτων 24 3; οἱ θανατούμενοι  
 22 1  
 θεοφόρητος 26 1  
 Θρήϊσσα 1 1  
 θυμομαχεῖν 16 1  
 θυμός: θυμῷ 12 3  
 θύρα: οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις 26 3]

## I

Ἰαχχος ὁ μυστικός 15 1  
 Ἰδιος 'peculiar' 18 4, 24 2  
 ἰδιώτης 27 3  
 ἰερός: ἱερὰ ταῦς 7 4  
 ἱεκοὶ ἀγωνισταὶ 25 1  
 Ἰσθμοί 21 2 (ex Timocreonte)  
 ἱστορεῖν 'to record' 3 2, 7 3,  
 19 1, 24 3, 25 1, 27 1  
 ἱταμῶς 3 1

## Κ

καθάπτεσθαι 21 2  
καθαρός: τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτε-  
ματος 4 4  
καθιστάναι τινὰ εἰς ἀναγκήν 16  
1  
καθορᾶν *cernere* 15 1  
καὶ introducing a statement  
emphatically 4 1; διὸ καὶ  
7 2, 10 2; ἥ καὶ 4 2; καὶ  
connecting genus with spe-  
cies 7 2; καὶ μάλιστα 13 1  
καινοτομίσθαι 29 1  
καινοτομίας ἐπιφέρειν 8 2  
καίτοι *quomquam* 'and yet'  
8 2, 10 5  
κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικόν 9 1  
καλοκαγαθικός 3 2  
καλός: ἐν καλῷ 32 3  
κάμπτεν 32 3  
Καρίην 'a Carian woman' 1 2  
καρχήσιον 12 1  
κατὰ *e regione* 'opposite' 14 2,  
32 3; κατὰ μέρος 'in detail'  
25 2, 18 1; κατὰ μικρόν  
'little by little' 4 3, 15 1;  
κατὰ τινα εἶναι 29 1; καθ'  
ἡμῶν *nostra aetate* 22 2; καθ'  
ἡσυχίαν 12 2; κατὰ στόμα 7 3  
καταβαίνειν 31 3  
καταβάλλειν 'to pay down'  
24 1  
καταβιβάζειν 4 3  
καταβοᾶν τινος 'to denounce'  
7 5, 23 3  
κατάγειν *ad exilium reducere* 14  
2; 17 2; 21 2  
καταδική 21 3  
καταδύναί 26 3  
καταίρειν εἰς 20 1  
κατακαλεῖσθαι 13 2  
καταλύειν πόλεμον 6 2  
καταμηνύειν 23 2  
καταπλεῖν 26 1  
καταπραύνειν τινα τῆς ὁργῆς 31  
2  
κατάρξασθαι 13 2

κατάρσεις ἀναγκαῖαι 9 2  
κατάρτυσις 2 5  
κατασκευάζειν ναὸν 30 2  
κατασκευὴ τῶν ἱερῶν 30 1  
κατασκήπτειν, said of a cloud,  
15 1  
καταστασιάζειν 5 4; καταστα-  
σιάζεσθαι 11 1  
καταυλίσσθαι 30 1  
καταφανής 23 2  
καταψεύδεσθαι τινος πρὸς τινα  
25 2; κατεψεύσθαι αὐτοῦ 2 6  
κατέρχεσθαι *redire ex fuga s.*  
*exilio* 11 1; κατελθεῖν 21 2  
κατεύχεσθαι 28 3  
κατέχειν τὴν θάλασσαν 4 1  
κατήφεια 9 2  
κατοψόμενος 19 1  
Κείος 3 2  
κείσθαι *as perf. pass. of τί-*  
*θηναι* 18 1; κείσθαι = *πεπτω-*  
*κέναι* 9 1  
κελευστής 'a boatswain' 19 3  
Κέρατα τὰ 13 1  
κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντός 26 1  
κεφαλὴ λέοντων 30 1  
κῆδεσθαι τινος 16 3  
κηρυκεῖον, τὸ 26 2  
κινεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον 3 2;  
κ. ἀγῶνα καὶ πάθος 32 2;  
κ. δυνάμεις 31 3  
κινητὴς 8 2  
κίταρις, ἡ 29 3  
κοινός: τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν 2 6  
κολοῦειν 18 2, 22 2, 31 3 (?)  
κόλουμεν 21 3  
κοσμεῖν γραφαῖς 1 3  
κουφισμὸς φθόνου 22 2  
κρατεῖν τῶν παρόδων 9 1; κρα-  
τεῖν τινος 'to prevail over';  
κρ. τῇ γνώμῃ 10 2; κρ. τῇ  
χειροτονίᾳ 6 1  
κρεῖ 21 2 (*ex Timocr.*)  
κρηκίς εὐμεγέθης 32 3; κρηκίδα  
βάλλεσθαι 8 2  
κρίνειν 'to bring to trial' 24  
3; 'to give a decision' 24 1  
κριτής 'a referee' 5 4, 24 1

κροῖζειν 8 2  
 κυβαλικός 21 2 (ex Timocreon)  
 κυβερνήτης 19 3  
 κύκλωσις 12 3  
 κυροῦσθαι : κυρωθῆναι 10 3  
 κωλύειν with inf. 25 1; with  
 participle 31 3

## Λ

λαμβάνειν : ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν 8 2;  
 λαμβάνειν σημείον 10 1; λα-  
 βῆσθαι (τῆς) to reach (shore)  
 25 2  
 λαμπρῶς : λαμπρὰ τράπεζα 29 4;  
 λαμπρὸν πνεῦμα 14 2; λαμ-  
 πρὸς τάφος 32 2  
 λαμπρότης 5 2; λαμπρότης  
 8 1  
 λείψανα, τὰ 32 2  
 λεώφορος, ἡ 'the high-way'  
 80 1  
 λιποθυμεῖν 10 5  
 λογισμῷ 23 2  
 λόγον δίδοναι 10 1; λ. διαδίδοναι  
 19 2; λόγους μαγικοί 29 3  
 λύειν τὸ ζεύγμα 16 1  
 λυπηρὸς 22 1  
 λύραν ἀρμόσασθαι 2 3

## Μ

μαγικοί λόγοι 29 3  
 μακαρίζειν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τινα 28  
 3  
 μαλακὸς τῇ ψυχῇ 6 1  
 Μαραθῶνι 8 3 (add Dem. adv.  
 Aristocr. p. 686, 5, de falsa  
 leg. p. 441 οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ  
 Σαλαμῖνι)  
 μάρτυρά τινα θέσθαι 28 2  
 μάχηαιρα 11 4  
 μέγα φρονεῖν τινι for ἐπὶ τινι  
 9 1  
 μεγίστη ἱκεσία 24 3  
 μεθιστάναι 5 4; 9 1  
 μεθόριον 18 1  
 μεираκιῦδης 3 2  
 μελετᾶν 2 1; de citharcedo 5  
 2

μελλήσεις ἐμποεῖν 16 3  
 μέν—δὲ 'both—and' 15 1  
 μέν οὖν 2 4, 7 4, 9 3, 17 1,  
 18 4, 20 1  
 μέντοι 8 1; correlative to μέν  
 1 1

μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης 'making a  
 merit of necessity' 12 3;  
 μετὰ ἀσφαλείας 3 2; μεθ' ἡμέ-  
 ραν 7 4

μετατάσσθαι πρὸς τινα 9 1  
 μετατιθέναι τὴν γνώμην 20 2  
 μετέχειν γένους 1 3

μετόπωρον 10 3  
 μέτριος = ἀγαθός, δίκαιος 5 4

μέτρῳ 26 1

μέχρις 'whilst' 16 3

μὴ ὦραν γενέσθαι 21 2

μὴ for οὐ with participles not  
 expressing condition 9 3;  
 23 3 (Madvig Gr. Synt. § 207,  
 Rem. 2)

μηδεὶς for οὐδεὶς 9 2; μηδὲν for  
 οὐδὲν 29 1

μηδίζειν 7 1

Μῆδος, ὁ the king of Persia 6 1

μήπω for οὐπω 5 3

Μητρὸς ἱερὸν 31 1

μηχανὴν αἶρειν 10 1

μικρολογία 5 1

μνᾶσθαι 18 4

μνημονεύμενα, τὰ 11 2

μνησικακεῖν 28 1

μόνιμοι ὀπλῖται 4 3

μονονοῦ 32 2

μορία, ἡ 19 2

## Ν

ναυαρχεῖν 12 3

ναυαρχὸς τριήρης 13 2

ναύαρχος 18 1

ναύκληρος 25 1

νεανικῶς 3 1

νέμειν 'to possess' 24 1

νεώριον 20 1

νικᾶν 19 2

νόθος 'a half-alien' 1 1

νοῦν ἔχειν 5 4; 13 2

## O

- ο: τὰ μὲν—τὰ δὲ 25 2  
 ὅθεν 'by which means' 2 2,  
 19 2, 29 2  
 ὅθι=ὅθι 'where' 8 2  
 οικία: ἀπ' οικίας μεγάλης εἶναι  
 5 3  
 ὀλεθρος: εἰς ὀλεθρον 21 2  
 ὀλιγαρχικός 3 2  
 ὀλκός 25 1  
 ὄλος: τὰ ὅλα 8 1, 16 2, 16 3  
 ὁμοία adverb. 31 2  
 ὁμοίητριος 32 1  
 ὁμοῦ )( χωρίς simul 12 1, 14  
 3, 15 1, 18 1  
 ὁμοῦ τι circiter, propemodum  
 'nearly,' 'almost' 7 2  
 ὄναρ adv. (Cobet var. lect. p.  
 525) 26 2  
 ὀνίνημι: ὤνησαν 8 1  
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